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THE *ऐतरी-पञ्चांग-मालेने*
देणबी-दास्तल दिलेले पुस्तक
EUTERPE OF HERODOTUS;

18 AUG 1955

CONTAINING HIS HISTORY OF EGYPT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK, FOR THE USE OF THE
STUDENTS OF THE POONA COLLEGE,

Tr. by

BY

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With Notes from various Sources, and Maps.



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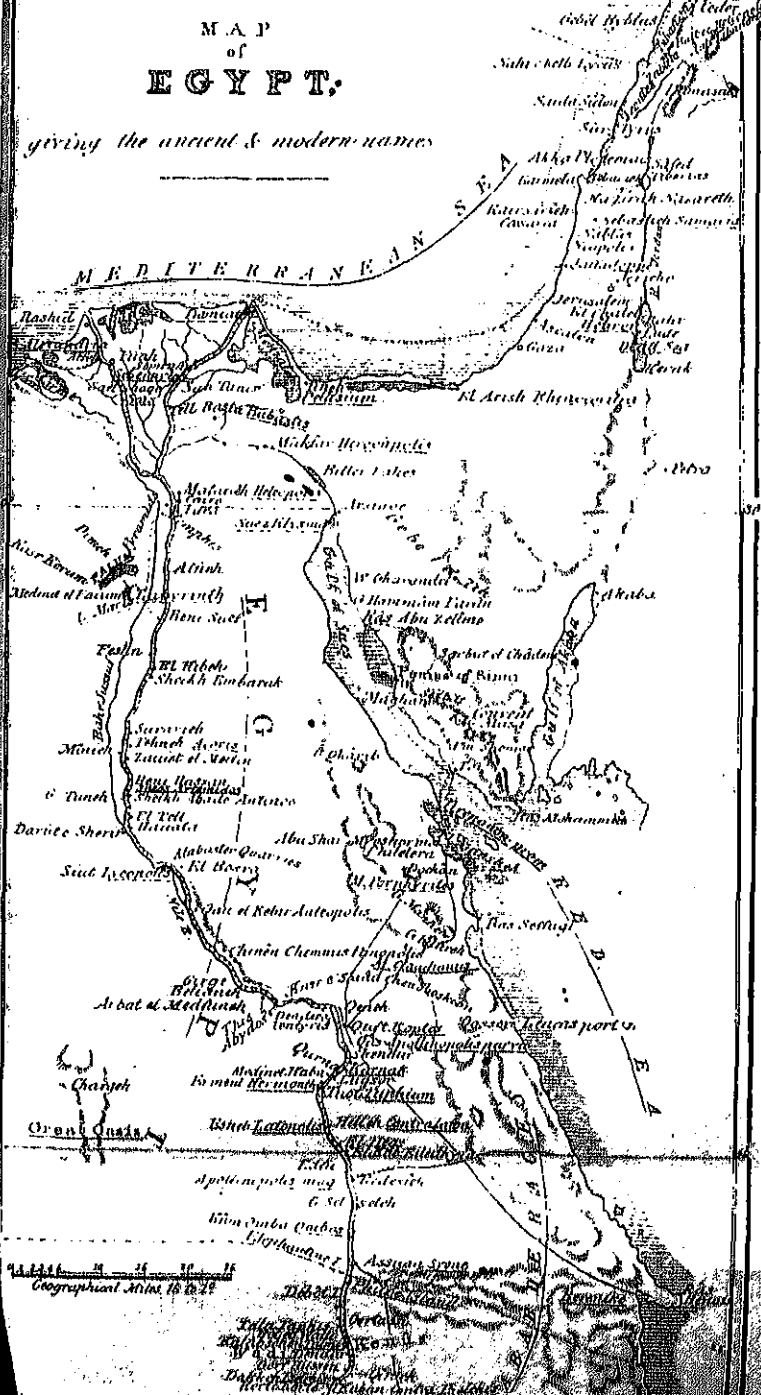
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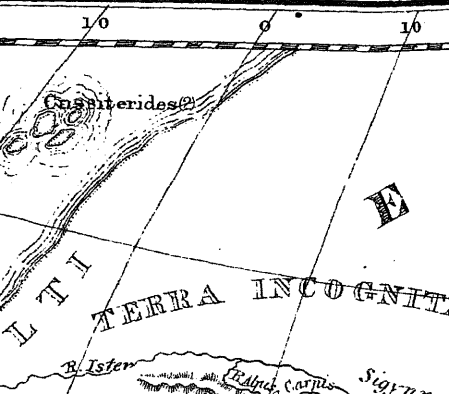
PREFACE.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT is a subject which especially commends itself to the Students of India. For others it is attractive, as containing the earliest authentic records of man; for them it has the almost personal interest of establishing and illustrating, by numberless coincidences of habit and idea, that pre-historic relationship which India claims with Egypt. I have therefore been induced to undertake this Translation of the *EUTERPE* OF HERODOTUS. Although commenced and concluded in the spare half-hours of a busy Term, the Student may accept the present version as a faithful transcript from the Greek original, which I have closely and obediently followed throughout. The Notes are intended to be suggestive rather than complete: I am indebted for much of the information which they contain to the valuable work lately published under the title of "*Rawlinson's Herodotus*."

E. A.

giving the ancient & modern names





THE SECOND

OF THE

HISTORIES OF HERODOTUS.

EUTERPE.

1. Now when Cyrus was dead, Cambyses succeeded to the kingdom, being as he was, the son of Cyrus and Cassandane the daughter of Pharnaspes. Upon her death, which was before his own, Cyrus himself bitterly mourned, and gave command to all others over whom he ruled to make mourning likewise. As the son, therefore, of this princess, and of Cyrus, Cambyses took to himself his father's subjects the Ionians and Æolians. And he set about his expedition against Egypt, with levies from the tribes of his own kingdom, and also from those Greeks of whom he was the lord.

2. The people of Egypt, before Psammitichus was their king, held themselves to be the oldest born of all men; but ever since Psammitichus began to reign, and resolved to discover what men were most ancient, they have come to think that the Phrygians were existing before themselves, and themselves before all other races. When Psammitichus could not by inquiry find an answer to the question "Who were first created of mankind?" he adopted this device. He took two new-

born infants, children of chance parents, and gave them to a shepherd to bring up at the folds in such a way as follows. He enjoined that no one should utter a sound of any kind in their presence, but that they should lie by themselves in a hut apart, and that he should bring them she-goats at proper intervals, and, having filled them with milk, go about his own matters. These things Psammitichus did, and thus he commanded, from a desire to hear what first sound the children would break out with, *so soon as their unmeaning infant cries were given up.* And the end answered his wish; for when the shepherd had passed two years in the observance of these rules, he found, upon opening the door and entering, that both the children crawled to his feet, stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." At first, when he heard it, the herdsman was silent; but when he came often and on purpose, and this word was repeated frequently, he made it known to the king his master, and, being commanded, brought the children before him. And when Psammitichus in person had heard them, he set himself to learn what nation of men gave to anything the name of "Bekos." And on inquiry he found that the Phrygians did thus denominate bread. Whereat the Egyptians, convinced by this experiment, confessed that the Phrygians were an older race than themselves.

3. I had it of the priests of Hephæstus that these things were so. The Greeks add many idle details, as for instance that Psammitichus cut out the tongues of some women, and supplied the infants with their daily food by means of them. Such is their story of the method of nourishing the children. I heard other versions, too, in Memphis, falling into discourse with the priests of Hephæstus; nay, I even turned aside to Thebes and Heliopolis, in quest of these particulars, desiring to know if their versions agreed with those current in Memphis. These men of Heliopolis are said to be the most given to traditions of all the Egyptians. What relates to their gods, in the stories which I heard

among them (except so far as to mention their names), I shall not willingly dwell upon. All men, I think, are alike informed upon these things. If, therefore, I recount any of these tales, I shall only recount them when enforced to do so by the course of my narration.

4. But as to traditions of men, they all agreed in affirming this much : that the Egyptians, first of mankind, found out the year, and made twelve divisions of the times in it ; and this they profess to have learned from the planets. And herein their practice is wiser, as I think, than the Greek, inasmuch as the Greeks insert every third year a make-weight month, to preserve accuracy in the seasons ; while the Egyptians, with their twelve months of thirty days, add into the account of every year just five days over and above all, and so the cycle of their seasons comes round to the same fixed point. They gave me the titles of the twelve gods, whom they said the Egyptians first worshipped, and the Greeks adopted from them. They also said that their own nation was the first to consecrate altars, images, and shrines to the gods, and to carve animals upon stones ; and of a truth they showed me that these things for the most part were indeed so. They told me that the first king of Egypt was one Menes ; and that in his day all Egypt except the Theban province was a marsh, and that there was none of it above water of all lying now below the Mærian lake, whereunto from the sea is a voyage up-stream of seven days.

5. And in this account of their country meseems they say well, for it is downright clear to one only seeing it, if he have wit, and hearing nothing beforehand, that that Egypt to which the Greeks make voyage is a gained land, and the gift of the river to the Egyptians. And as to the parts that lie yet southward of this lake, so far as a three days' sail, — of this district they gave no such account ; but it is, in truth, of such another nature.

For the character of the country of Egypt is as I shall here describe. On first nearing land, and being still a

day's course from the coast, if you heave the sounding lead, you shall bring up mud, and get eleven fathoms; and thus far this certifies to the constant outfall of soil.

6. The length of Egypt proper, along the sea-line, is sixty schœnes (or two hundred and twenty-five koss),—that is what we call Egypt, being the coast from the Plinthetic gulf to the Serbonian bog, whereby stretches the Kasian range: from this point, I say, its length is sixty schœnes. Now where men have but scant soil, they measure land by fathoms; where they be less pinched for room, by stades; where they hold large tracts, by parasangs; but where they have an absolute plenty, they do mete it by the schœne. The parasang is the same with thirty stades, and every schœne, by Egyptian measure, with sixty stades; by this count, therefore, the sea-line of Egypt is three thousand six hundred stades.

7. From the coast, and so far into the heart of the land as Heliopolis, the country of Egypt is broad, and lies all low and waterish, and like a marsh; and the voyage to Heliopolis from the sea is the same in length with the journey from Athens—that which leads from the altar of the twelve gods to Pisa, and the shrine of the Olympian god. One would find in reckoning these distances some little difference, making them not altogether equal; but not more than of fifteen stades. It is that the journey from Athens to Pisa lacks fifteen stades of one thousand and five hundred, and that to Heliopolis from the sea is just that number.

8. Sailing upward from Heliopolis, Egypt is narrow, for on the one side the mountains of Arabia lie along the river, bearing from the north, south, and south-west, and trending inland to the sea which is called Red. In this range are the stone-quarries which were worked for the pyramids at Memphis, at which point it stops, and breaks away as I have said. Its greatest length, as I learned, is from east to west a journey of two months, and towards the east its confines are rich in spices. Such is the character of this range. Another rocky

range extends upon the African side of Egypt, wherein are the pyramids. This chain is wrapped in sand, and stretches in the same fashion as the Arabian to the southward. From Heliopolis, then, upward (no mighty tract of country for Egypt, but yet a sail of four days), the land is a narrow land. The tract lying between the chains described is level, and seemed to me at its narrowest to be at the most not more than two hundred stades from the Arabian range to that called the African, and from this point, again, Egypt becomes broad. Such then, is the natural make of the country.

9. To go up to Thebes from Heliopolis is a voyage of nine days; the distance is one of four thousand eight hundred and sixty stades, or eighty-one schoenes. The complete dimensions of Egypt, therefore, are, along the sea line, as I have before shown, three thousand six hundred stades; and from the sea as far into the country as Thebes, thus much, namely six thousand one hundred and twenty stades; and from Thebes to the city called Elephantina, one thousand eight hundred.

10. Of all the country thus named, the most part, as the priests alleged, and as my own opinion went, has been won to the Egyptians. All the tract between the mountains mentioned, and above the town of Memphis, seems to me to have been at one time a gulf of the sea, just as the region about Ilium and Tenthrania, or Ephesus and the plain of the Mæander. This, indeed, is to match small things with great; for of the rivers that silt up these districts, no one is worthy to be matched for size with one of the five mouths of the Nile. There are other rivers too, not indeed like the Nile in bigness, which can yet show mighty results of their operations. I could cite many besides the Achælous, not the least of them; who, flowing through Acarnania, hath already in his issue to the sea joined the half of the Echinades islands to the continent.

11. There is, too, by Arabia, not far from Egypt, an arm reaching in from what is called the Erythrean sea, of extent and breadth such as I am about to describe.

The length of his voyage to one who should begin at the bottom of the gulf, and sail through it to the open sea, would occupy forty days, and that with a fair breeze; and the breadth of the gulf, where broadest, is a course of half a day. The tidal ebb and flow takes place each day. And such another gulf I hold Egypt to have been at one time, the one an inlet from the northern sea, penetrating Ethiopia; and the other (that of Arabia, of which I have just spoken) entering from the southern sea towards Syria;—each piercing to within a little of the other, and, for a short space of country, with parallel waters. Suppose, then, that the Nile should be minded to turn his flood into this Arabian gulf, what should prevent its silting up with such a current, although not until after two myriads of years? I indeed expect that it would be choked up within ten thousand; and how will one say, then, in all the time elapsed before my day, that a gulf, aye even far greater than this, could not have been filled by a river of such volume, and so unresting?

12. As concerns Egypt, therefore, I follow those who hold these views, and am of myself persuaded that they be true; seeing that Egypt gains ever upon the land adjoining, and that sea-shells are found upon the mountains, and salt encrusts upon them; so as even to deface the pyramids. Besides, only to the north of Memphis are the hills of Egypt sandy; and moreover, Egypt is neither like its neighbour Arabia, nor like Libya, nor Syria (for the Syrians dwell on the sea-line of Arabia); but its soil is black and crumbly, as marsh land would make it, and the deposit brought down by the river from Ethiopia. As for Libya, we know it has a red earth, and but slightly sanded; while Arabia and Syria are clay soils, and somewhat stony.

13. The priests told me this too—a marvellous evidence of the origin of the country; that in the time of King Mœris, whensoever the river rose to eight cubits at the lowest, it overflowed all Egypt below Memphis; and Mœris had not been dead quite nine hundred years.

when I heard this from the priests. But now, unless the river reaches to sixteen, or fifteen cubits at the least, it flows not over the country. And I think that those Egyptians who live below lake Mooris, inhabiting what is called the Delta, and the adjacent district, if thus their country rises in like proportion in height, as it extends outward in size—these Egyptians, I say, the Nile no longer flooding their country, will for all future time come to suffer that which once they predicted of the Grecians. For, hearing that the whole land of the Greeks is rained upon, but not watered by rivers, like their own, they declared that, “disappointed of their great hope, the Greeks would some day perish miserably of hunger.” And this saying implies that “if God should be minded not to send them rain, but to visit them instead with drought, the Greeks would be cut off by famine”—for that there is no other supply of water for them, except from the heavens only.

14. And herein the people of Egypt have spoken wisely of the Greeks: but look you, I will tell how it stands with the Egyptians themselves. If, as I have said before, the country below Memphis (for that is where the increase goes forward) should continue rising as in the time past and gone, how should the Egyptians dwelling there escape famine, the land neither receiving rain, nor the river having power to overrun the fields? These men truly, at present, reap the fruit of the earth with scantier labour than the rest of mankind, or even of the Egyptians, for neither toil they with the plough to break up furrows, neither use harrows, nor work at all as others work upon their fields; but when that the river of his own will doth rise and water the meadows, and, having watered them, doth again retire; then each man, first sowing his field, drives therein swine, and when, with the swine, he hath trodden down the seed, then waits he for the harvest, which he garners, beating out the grain with the hoofs of his swine.

15. If we choose to receive the opinion of the Ionians about Egypt, the Delta only is what they so

style, declaring it to extend from what is called the watch-tower of Perseus along the sea as far as the Pelusiac Tarihceæ, a distance of forty schænes. Inland from the sea it reaches, according to them, down to the city Kerkasorus, whereat the Nile divides, flowing to Pelusium and to Canopus. Whatever else is called Egypt is either Eibya, by their account, or Arabia. Now we could prove, accepting this view, that the Egyptians had formerly no country at all. For at once, as for the Delta, as the Egyptians say, and as I believe, it is a land brought down by the river, and only lately, so to speak, made visible. If, then, they had no existent country of their own, why should they go about to think themselves most ancient of men? There was no need to put it to proof by the children, and what tongue they should first give speech in. By no means do I think the Egyptians coeval with the Delta, as the Ionians have it, but rather that they have existed ever since the human race began; and that, as their country gained in size, many remained upon the old soil, and many went down into the new. And so was it that Thebes long ago was called Egypt, the perimeter whereof is six thousand one hundred and twenty stades.

16. Herein, therefore, if our judgment be right, the Ionians hold not wisely about Egypt; at any rate, if the Ionians say well, I shall show that the Greeks—aye the Ionians themselves—know not how to reckon. For they say there be three divisions of the whole earth,—Europe, Asia, and Libya; whereas they must own to a fourth, namely the Delta of Egypt, if that district be neither a part of Asia nor yet of Libya! For the Nile is not, according to their account, the boundary between Asia and Libya,—the Nile divides at the angle of the Delta, so that this would lie between Asia and Libya.

17. So we will put aside the account which the Ionians give of these things, and say what our own opinion is, as follows:—Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by the Egyptians, just as Cilicia is that which is dwelt in by the Cilicians, and Assyria by the

Assyrians; and boundary between Asia and Libya we know well there is none in strict speech, unless it be the frontiers of Egypt. But if we were to adopt what is the common faith of the Greeks, we shall have to believe that the whole of Egypt, commencing at the cataracts and the city Elephantina, divides itself into two parts, and has two separate names, and that this side of it is Asia, and that side Africa. For the Nile, beginning from the cataracts, flows down to the sea, dividing Egypt equally. So far as the city Kerkasorus, it runs in one stream; but from this city seawards, it branches three ways: one channel bends to the east, which is that called the Pelusiæ mouth; a second channel holds away to the west, and this is styled the Canopic mouth; the third and direct channel of the Nile rolls northwards till it reaches the angle of the Delta, and thence, cutting the Delta atwain, it falls into the sea, bringing to it not the narrowest volume of water nor of the least name. This is called the Sebennytiæ mouth; and to this belong two other mouths, which branch off from the Sebennytiæ, and flow to the sea. The names which pertain to these are the Saitic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitic mouth, and that called the Bucolic, are not natural, but have been digged.

18. And what bears witness to my opinion, that Egypt is such as I describe it in my narrative, is the answer that came from the oracle of Ammon, which I learned after forming that opinion about Egypt. The men from the cities of Marea and Apis, dwelling in that part of Egypt which borders on Libya, thinking themselves Libyans, and not Egyptians, burdened with the observance of their ceremonies, and desirous, too, of escaping the restrictions concerning cows, sent to Ammon, declaring that they "had nothing in common with the Egyptians—lived outside of the Delta, and agreed in no one point with them," and that they "desired leave to eat all things alike." The divinity was not willing to grant them this, alleging that "Egypt was so much as the Nile did flow upon and water," and

that "the Egyptians were all such as, living down the stream from Elephantina, drank of the river." Such was the answer given to them.

19. Now the Nile, at its swell, cometh up upon not Delta only, but also part of the region said to belong to Libya and Arabia; sometimes, indeed, a two days' journey more or less on either side. Respecting the nature of the river, I could come by no information from the priests, or any else. I was much minded to learn why the Nile, beginning from the summer solstice, rises and runs over for the space of a hundred days; and on nearing the end of these days, retires again, and leaves its channel dry; so as to continue low all the winter-time, until the next coming of the summer solstice. Concerning these particulars, I could get no manner of information from the Egyptians, although I questioned them of this property of the Nile, which makes it to go contrary to all other rivers. And I made these inquiries from desire to be assured upon the points mentioned, as well as to know why this river alone of all others produces no fogs upon the face of it.

20. Certain of the Greeks, truly, seeking to seem men of mark and wisdom, have explained the marvel of this stream in three ways. Two of these three I should hold unworthy of mention, save that I desire briefly to point them out. The first alleges that the Etesian winds are the causes of the swelling of the river, for that they obstruct its outflow into the sea. Yet many a time the Etesians have not blown, and the Nile has wrought his customary work; and more, if the Etesians were the reason, needs must it be that all other rivers which flow against them should undergo the same with the Nile, and in the same degree—nay, truly, in a greater, insomuch as they themselves are less, and run with a feebler current. Many such rivers there be in Syria, and many in Libya, which are in no wise affected as is the Nile.

21. The second tale being yet shallower than the

first, has, sooth to say, more of the marvellous: it will have it, that the river flows from the great Ocean to work these wonders, and that this Ocean encircles with his flood the whole earth.

22. The third method, as it is the seemliest, is also the most untrue; for it says mainly nothing, in saying that the Nile flows down from melting snows. He flows from Libya, through the midst of the Ethiopians, and empties himself into Egypt: how then can he flow from snows, coming from the burning regions into regions that are cooler? To a man fitted to reason upon such things, many arguments will occur to show that it is out of likelihood that he thus flows forth from the snow. The first and chiefest proof is given by the winds, which blow not from these quarters. The second is, that the land is always without rain, and without frost, and whenever snow falls, by all accounts rain must follow within five days; so that if it snowed there, the same country would also receive rain. In the third place, the natives there are black, from the heat. Kites and swallows abide there all the year, and the cranes, flying from the cold weather in Scythia, come to these parts for their winter quarters. If it snowed then, but ever so little, in that country throughout which the Nile flows, and wherein lies his source, none of these things would be so, as is clear of necessity.

23. He who talks of Ocean carries his philosophy into obscure traditions, whither logic follows not. I of a surety know no river that is called Ocean, and think rather that Homer, or some other of the antique poets, did light upon the word, and so bring it into their verses.

24. But if it be just that he who carps at the opinions given, should himself furnish one on matters so obscure, I will state why, in my judgment, the Nile swells in the summer-time. Driven from his old course in the winter-season by the storms, the sun betakes him to the upper tracts of Libya; and herein, to speak briefly, all is said. To whatever region the god be

nighest, and over-head, that region, as is natural, will thirst the most for water, and have its river-streams round about it die and dry up.

25. But to make plain my meaning in more words, thus is it. In his traverse of the upper parts of Libya, the sun hath this effect. The air in these regions being at all times clear, and the soil, as there are no cold breezes, hot, he doth that in passing over which he is wont to do when in summer his path is in the middle of the sky: he draws to himself the moisture, and, so doing, discharges it upon the high lands. The winds, taking this up, scatter it abroad in rain; so that, as is natural, those blowing from this quarter—the south wind and the south-west—are of all winds the most waterish. And I think the sun doth not each year discharge all this water by the Nile, but that some is retained about him. So, when the winter is breaking up, he returns again to the mid-firmament, and thenceforward draws up the water equally from all rivers. These rivers, receiving vast torrents of rain, as in countries cut up with watercourses, where rain falls largely, have been meanwhile flowing with a full stream; but when the summer comes, and the rain fails them, they are drawn up (in vapour) by the sun, and become diminished. But the Nile, who is without rain, and suffers also the power of the sun, is, as is natural, the only river who flows at this season with a current so unworthy of his summer-flood. At that period it does but suffer evaporation alike with all other rivers, but in winter-time it is the only one so drained: therefore I conclude that the sun is the author of these things.

26. The same is the cause, in my judgment, that the air hereabouts is dry: he scorches the region which he is traversing, and thus is it that in the upper parts of Libya there is perpetual summer. And if the system of the seasons were reversed, and that quarter of heaven where the north-wind and winter are, were made the station of the southern breeze and the mid-day—if the south stood where the north does—in that case

the sun, driven from the centre of heaven by the northern storms, would betake him to the upper regions of Europe, as he doth now to those of Libya; and passing thus throughout Europe, I should look to find his influence upon the Ister just such as it is upon the Nile.

27. Concerning the fogs, and wherefore they rise not upon the river, this is my opinion. From countries so burning it is not likely that they should come up; fogs are wont to take their rise from some cold quarter.

28. Be these things as they are and were, it is certain that of all the Egyptians, the Libyans, and the Greeks, who fell to talk with me, not one professed to know the springs of the Nile. I except one man, the scribe to the sacred treasury of Athonea, at Sais, in Egypt; but I think he was jesting with me, pretending to know so surely. His story was that "there are two mountains, running to sharp-pointed summits, situate between the city of Syene in the Thebais, and Elephantina: the name of one mountain is Krophî, of the other Mophî; and the fountains of the Nile, which have no bottom, rise in the heart of these hills. One half of the water flows over Egypt and to the north; the other half to Ethiopia and the south. That the fountains were bottomless had been proved by Psammitichus the king of Egypt, who caused a lead-line to be twisted of many thousand fathoms in length, and let it down, but reached never a bottom." Such disclosures the scribe made, leading me to determine, if what he said was true, that on account of the eddies and back-water, which would be strong where the water was foaming among the rocks, the sounding-line was not able to descend and touch bottom.

29. From none else could I gather any information; but this much which follows I learned myself as far as was possible, seeing with my own eyes up to the city Elephantina, and thence onward getting my facts upon hearsay. As you go upwards from Elephantina, it is all a rugged country; you must travel with a tow-rope on both sides of your boat, like a yoked ox, and if it

break, your boat drives off at the mercy of the current. To pass this district is a four days' sail, and throughout it the Nile winds as much as the Mæander. There are twelve schœnes to sail past in this fashion, and thereafter you shall arrive at an even plain, wherein is an island, round about which the Nile goes—Tachompso is the name of it. Thus far upward from Elephantina, and upon half the island, dwell Ethiopians; the other half is inhabited by Egyptians. Near at hand to the island is a great lake, upon whose borders some wandering Ethiopians live. Sailing across this, you come again to the channel of the Nile, which opens into the lake. Here you must go ashore, and make a land journey of forty days along the river bank; for there are sharp rocks in the Nile both above water and a-wash, and through these no boat can go. Passing these parts in the forty days, you will go on board another vessel, and sail for twelve more. Then you will come to a great city named Meroë, which is said to be the capital city of all Ethiopia. Those dwelling therein worship none of the gods but Zeus and Dionysus; but these they mightily reverence. They have an oracle of Zeus too, and they set about their forays whenever the god commands it by his warnings, and direct them whither-soever he bids.

30. Sailing from this city, you will come to the Automoli in the same space of time wherein you reached the chief city of the Ethiopians from Elephantina. Another name of these Automoli is Asmach, and this word means, in the Greek tongue, "those who stand at the left hand of the king." These are the warrior Egyptians who, to the number of twenty-four myriads, revolted to the Ethiopians, and on this occasion:—In the days of king Psammitichus there was a garrison in Elephantina against the Ethiopians, another in the Pelusian Daphnœ against the Arabians and Syrians, and a third at Marea to watch Libya,—even in my time the Persian garrisons occupy the same posts as were held under Psammitichus; for the Persians keep ward

at Elephantina, and also at Daphnæ. These Egyptians had done garrison duty for three years, and none had relieved them : consulting therefore together, and taking one counsel, they revolted from Psammitichus and went over into Ethiopia. Psammitichus, on hearing it, followed them, and, coming up, used much entreaty, urging them not to desert along with the national gods their wives, and little ones. One of them is said to have answered, with an indecent gesture, "Wherever we carry this, there we shall have wives, and children too." Upon arriving in Ethiopia, they made themselves over to the Ethiop monarch; he gave them this return. Certain of the Ethiopians were in revolt against him; he bade them expel these, and make a home of their country. By the colony so received, the Ethiopians became a more polished people, acquiring the manners of the Egyptians.

31. So far, then, as a four months' journey by field and flood, the Nile is well known, besides what of it runs through Egypt. It will be found on casting all up, that this number of months is expended in journeying from Elephantina to these Automoli. The river's course here is from the region of the evening and the sun-down; but beyond this no one can certainly speak, for the country is made a desert by the heat.

32. I did nevertheless learn somewhat from certain men of Cyrene, who gave out that they had visited the oracle of Ammon, and came to speech with King Etearchus of the Ammonians. From other matters, they fell to talk about the Nile, and how that no man knew the sources of it. Hereupon Etearchus said that "he once received a company of Nasamonians." Now this is a tribe of Libyan extraction, dwelling in the Syrtis, and the country to a little distance eastward of it. He said, that when these Nasamonians were asked, upon arriving, if they had any more information about the waste country of Libya, they replied that they had among them certain well-born and spirited youths, who, upon reaching manhood, among other valorous designs

chose five from their number to visit the Libyan wildernesses, with the view to explore farther than the farthest then explored. * * * The young men so deputed by their comrades were well equipped with water and provisions. At first they passed through an inhabited region, and, traversing this, came to one peopled by wild beasts. After that they crossed a desert, holding a course towards the west wind, and when they had gone many days' journeys through a very sandy country, they beheld trees growing upon a plain. And, coming up, they plucked the fruit growing thereon, and while so doing there came down upon them men of small stature, of less than the common height, who seized them and carried them off. The Nasamonians knew not a word of their tongue, nor their captors that of the Nasamonians. They were led through enormous marshes, and came out of them upon a city, wherein all the men were of the same stature with their guards, and black of skin. A great river ran by this city, and its course was from the west towards the rising sun, and crocodiles were seen in it.

33. Thus far was related to me the account of King Etearchus of Ammon, and, moreover, that he added this: "The Nasamonians returned safe home, according to the Cyrenians, and these people to whom they had come turned out to be all magicians." As for this river which ran by the city, Etearchus conjectured it to be the Nile; and reason would force to this conclusion: for the Nile comes forth from Lybia, and certainly divides it in twain. And (as I conjecture, judging by things manifest of things unknown), the Nile starts from a point equidistant with the Ister's. The river Ister, rising among the Celts by the city of Pyréné, divides Europe equally. These Celts dwell beyond the pillars of Heroules, and border on the Cyrenians, who, of all the inhabitants of Europe, live farthest away towards the sun-down. And the Ister, after traversing Europe, ends in the waters of the Euxine sea, near to where the Milesian colonists have founded Istria.

34. Flowing through a peopled district, the Ister is well known of many ; but no one has knowledge of the fountains of the Nile : that tract of Libya whereby it runs being desolate and a waste. Of the stream itself, whatever it was possible to come at by the fullest inquiry, has been narrated. It discharges itself into Egypt, and Egypt lies, as near as may be, over against the Cilician hills ; from these to Sinope, which stands upon the Euxine sea, is a straight road of five days' journey to a well-girded fellow, and Sinope fronts the spot where Ister falls into the sea. Therefore I think that the Nile in his traverse of all Libya may be likened to the Ister. Thus much, then, of the Nile.

35. About Egypt generally I shall give a long account, as it contains more marvels than all other countries, and displays monuments, in comparison with other lands, too mighty for description ; wherefore I shall have much to say thereon. The inhabitants of it, besides owning a climate diverse from all others, and a river manifesting a nature contrary to other rivers, have established, in most particulars, a usage and customs differing from all other men. Among them it is the women who crowd the markets and barter, and the men who sit at home and spin. Other people in weaving throw the nap outside, the Egyptians turn it inside. The men carry burdens on the head, the women on the shoulders. They are fantastic in certain other habits, and ease themselves in their houses, while they eat outside in the streets ; this they defend by saying that what is shameful, but necessary, should be done in secret, and what is not shameful, openly. No woman can be priestess to any god, male or female ; the men serve both and all. Sons are not compelled, against their will, to support their parents ; but the daughter must, be she never so unwilling.

36. In other countries, too, priests wear long hair ; in Egypt they are close shaved. Other men are wont in time of mourning to have their heads shorn, whom the loss touches most nearly ; but the Egyptians upon a

death let the hair grow upon their head and chin, at other times wearing none there. Other men avoid creatures in their daily life, but the Egyptians live familiarly with all beasts. Others sustain life on wheat and barley, but an Egyptian who should do so would be sorely disgraced: they make their loaves of a grain, which some call 'zea.' Their dough they knead with the feet, but they take up mud and dung with their hands. Others leave themselves as Nature made them, except such as have learned the fashion; the Egyptians circumcise. As to garments, every man has two, and every woman one apiece. The ring-belts and sheets of sails are made fast outside by others, and inside by them. In writing, and summing by cypher, the Greeks carry the hand from left to right, but the Egyptians from right to left, and so doing, declare their own style right-handed, and that of the Greeks left-handed. They employ two sorts of characters; one is called sacred, and the other demotic.

37. In their worship of the gods, they are mightily strict beyond all other men, and observe these customs. They drink from lotas of brass, scouring them every day; not one or two only do this, but every soul. They wear garments of linen, constantly fresh-washed, and circumcision they practise for the sake of cleanliness, preferring to be clean rather than comely. The priests shave all the body every third day, in order that no louse or other unclean creature may be upon them when serving their gods. For clothing, the priests wear linen only, and sandals of hyblus,—they may not wear any other garments or shoes. Twice every day they bathe in cold water, and twice every night,—in a word, they observe these and ten thousand other superstitions. They are well treated, however, in many points; they are at no waste or expense from their own resources, but sacred food is boiled for them, and ox-beef and droves of geese are supplied to each of them, with the liquor of the grape. Of fish they are not permitted to taste, and beans the Egyptians do not sow at all in the

country, neither will they eat them self-sown, nor taste them dressed. The priests cannot endure the sight of that pulse, deeming it unclean. The worship of each god is not performed by a single priest, but by many, whereof one is arch-priest; and whensoever any dies his son succeeds in his room.

38. The male of all their cattle they hold sacred to Epaphus, and for sacrificing to him they scrutinize them as shall be related. If the inspector find but one black hair upon the beast, he pronounces him unclean. He who adjudges this matter is a priest appointed on purpose, and examines the animal both standing up and turned upon its back. He draws forth the tongue also, to see if it be clean from the catalogue of blemishes, which I will elsewhere enumerate. He looks too at the tuft of hairs on the tail, to judge if they grow naturally; and if in all these points the creature be pure, he marks him with a roll of byblus about his horns. He afterwards kneads thereon some sealing-earth, and impresses it with his signet-ring, and this done, they lead him away. It is death by law to sacrifice an unsealed beast, and they are approved for the purpose in the manner I have described.*

39. Their method of sacrifice is thus established. Leading the creature duly sealed to the altar wherever the sacrifice be, they kindle a fire there; then, pouring wine upon it and before the victim, they slay him, and afterwards cut his head off, and flay the carcase. The head, after invoking upon it by many forms all future evil, they carry away; and such as have a market, and Greek merchants among them, sell it there. Where there are no Greek settlers they cast the heads into the river, uttering over them this adjuration—"If any evil be to come on us who worship, or on Egypt, let it light instead upon this head." In what relates to the heads of victims so slain, and the libation of wine thereon, the Egyptians universally follow one custom; and from this it results, that no Egyptian will so much as taste of the head of any creature.

40. But in embowelling and consuming the victims, the custom differs with each sacrifice. I shall relate that pertaining to the goddess whom they hold to be the greatest, and to whose honour they celebrate their greatest festival. First, having slayed their ox and repeated prayers, they draw forth the paunch, leaving the organs with the fat in the carcase. Then they cut off the legs, and the loin-ends, with the shoulders and the neck. After this, they stuff what is left of the ox with white bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other spices, and when it is full they burn it, pouring on a plentiful deluge of oil. They make the sacrifice after a fast, and beat themselves while the victims are burning; and this beating over, they set out a feast with what is left of the victims.

41. All the Egyptians thus sacrifice male kine, and calves without blemish—the females they dare not offer up, being sacred to Isis. The image of Isis is made in the likeness of a woman, having cow's horns, as the Greeks represent Io; and all the Egyptians alike pay reverence to cows, far above all other cattle. It is for this that no man or woman of Egypt will kiss a Grecian upon the mouth, nor use a knife, or spit, or caldron of a Grecian, nor taste the flesh of any beast, although unblemished, which has been divided by a Greek's knife. They bury the oxen that die, in this fashion: the cows they throw into the river, but the steers they inter, each in their own suburbs, with one or both horns above ground, for a mark. When they be rotted, and the appointed day is come, a barge from the island called Prosopitis touches at each town. This island is in Delta, and its perimeter is nine schoenes; there are numerous other cities therein, but that from which the barges come to fetch the skeletons of the oxen is called Atarbechis, and a temple is there, built to the glory of Aphrodite. From this city then set forth those who take up the bones; some to one place, some to another; and digging them up, they bring them all to this one spot, and bury them. After the same manner, they

inter all other cattle that die, for so it is written in their law; and they will not themselves kill any.

42. Whoever of them have set themselves to the worship of the Theban Zeus, or come of the Theban province—all these abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. For the people of Egypt serve not all gods in the same way, except Isis and Osiris (whom they say is Dionysus): these two they all worship, and in the same manner. On the contrary, those who have in charge the service of Mendes, and belong to the Mendesian district, abstain from goats, and offer sheep instead. The men of Thebes, and such as through them avoid the use of sheep, give this reason for the custom so established among them. Hercules, they say, desired greatly to behold Zeus, who would not be seen of him; but at last, on the earnest entreaty of Hercules, he consented to this device. Having slain and skinned a ram, and cut its head off, he held it before his face, and, putting on the fleece, showed himself in this guise to Hercules. Hence is it that the Egyptians make the image of Zeus with a ram's face, and, in imitation of them, the Ammonians; who are offshoots of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and speak a speech between both. Indeed I think that they have hence derived their name of Ammonians, for Ammon is what the Egyptians call Zeus. The Thebans therefore sacrifice no rams, but account them sacred. On one day indeed of the year, that is at the feast of Zeus, they slay a ram and skin it, and clothe with the fleece the image of the god, and then bring another image of Hercules to this one. Having thus done, all in the temple beat themselves out of sorrow for the ram, and then bury him in the sacred receptacle.

43. Of this Hercules, I was informed that he was of the number of the twelve gods; but of the other Hercules, whom the Greeks know, I could nowhere in Egypt get any information. That it was not, however, from the Greeks that the Egyptians took the name, but the Greeks rather from the Egyptians (and those very

Greeks who styled by this name the son of Amphitryon), I have very many proofs. This is one; that both the parents of Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, came of Egyptian ancestry; and moreover, that the Egyptians deny all knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, and that these have never been enrolled among their other gods. Yet surely, if they had borrowed the names of any gods from the Grecians, they would have mentioned these, not last, but first of all; seeing that even then they sailed vessels, and some of the Greeks were sailors aboard them. As I believe therefore, and am persuaded, the Egyptians would have caught the names of these gods, rather than that of Hercules. In truth, there is an ancient god of Egypt named Hercules, and by their account, it was 17,000 years in King Amasis' time since the twelve gods, of whom Hercules was one, were made out of the eight.

41. Desiring to get at certain knowledge from all possible sources, I made sail as far as Tyre in Phœnicia, understanding that in that place was a temple sacred to Hercules. I found it bravely furnished with all kinds of offerings, and within were two columns, the one of furnace-gold the other of the emerald stone, glittering marvellously in the dark. Falling into talk with the priests, I inquired how long it was since their temple was builded, and I found them also at variance with the Greeks. They said that at the same time when Tyro was founded their temple was erected, and that since the building of Tyre two thousand three hundred years had elapsed. I saw another temple in Tyre, bearing the title of the Thasian Hercules; and coming to Thasos, I found there a temple to Hercules, built by the Phœnicians, who founded Thasos on their voyage in quest of Europa; and these things were five generations of men before the appearance of Hercules the son of Amphitryon in Greece. These results show plainly that Hercules is an antique god, and I think the Grecians do very right to build two kinds of temples to Hercules,

worshipping the one as the Immortal and Olympian, and doing funeral honours to the other as to a hero.

45. The Greeks speak over-readily upon this subject in many things; here is a simple story which they relate of Hercules. When he came to Egypt, the people took and led him with garlands on his head and in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus. For a while he held his peace, but when they set about their preparations of him for the altar, he betook himself to his mettle and slew them all. Now the Greeks who tell this story seem to be utterly unlearned in the spirit and customs of the Egyptians; for they who will not sacrifice even beasts, except sheep and male cattle and calves, if they be unblemished, and geese, how should such men sacrifice a man? Besides, Hercules was but one, and only a man, as they themselves say,—whence got he the gift to slay so many thousands? Gods and heroes pardon us, if we speak over-boldly!

46. I will give the reasons why the Egyptians above named sacrifice no he or she-goats. They of Mendes consider Pan to be one of the eight gods, whom they say existed before the twelve. And truly their painters and sculptors do present and carve Pan, like the Greeks, as an image with a goat's face and legs; not that they think him such—they think him like the other gods. The true reason wherefore they thus represent him is what I would rather not tell. At any rate, the Mendesian reverence all goats, but the males more than the females, and the herdsmen of these receive most honour. There is one he-goat specially, upon whose death a solemn mourning is enjoined through all the Mendesian province. In the Egyptian tongue a goat and Pan are each called "Mendes." * * * * *

47. The hog is an animal held unclean by the Egyptians, and so much so, that if one of them but touch a pig, in passing, with his clothes only, he is off to the river, to plunge himself in. Swineherds too, though they be of Egyptian birth, are the only Egyptians who may not enter a temple, nor will any man give them

his daughter for a wife, nor marry one from among them; but the swineherds marry and are given in marriage among themselves. The Egyptians think it not well to offer swine to any of the divinities except only to Seléne and Dionysus, which they do at the same time, the full-moon, and feast on the flesh. The reason wherefore in other festivals they abominate hogs, and sacrifice them on this one, is told in a story which the Egyptians relate, but which, though I know it, it will be more seemly to omit. The sacrifice to Seléne is made in this wise. The sacrificer, having killed the beast, puts together the tip of the tail, the spleen, and the caul, and wraps them in all that fat found about the belly, and so consumes it with fire. They eat the rest of the flesh at the full-moon when they make the sacrifice—at another season they would not so much as taste it. The poorer sort among them, by reason of the straitness of their means, make swine out of dough, and, baking these, so offer them.

48. In honour of Dionysus, every man on the eve of the feast slays a hog in front of the house-door, and then returns the beast to the swine-herd who furnished it, to carry away: the rest of the festival the Egyptians celebrate in almost the very same fashion as the Greeks, except as to the choral dances. In place of phallic figures, another invention is employed by them, consisting of effigies a cubit long and moved with strings, which the women carry round about the villages; the emblem, which is nearly as large as all the rest of the image, being made to shake. In front goes a piper, and the women come after, singing songs to Dionysus: wherefore the emblem hath such monstrous size, and is the only organ made to move, there is a religious legend to explain.

49. I do think that Melampus, Amytheon's son, was not uninformed of this ceremony; nay, I think he knew it well. Melampus it was who first taught the Greeks the title of Dionysus, the method of his worship, and the phallic procession. Not that he profoundly

comprehended what he made known ; it was left to the sages who came after him to complete his instructions. Still Melampus was the introducer of a phallus, like to that borne in the Dionysine show, and from him the Greeks have learned their present practice. I say then that Melampus, as a man of learning, and one who had framed an art of divination, was he who from his Egyptian teaching imparted to my countrymen, among other things, the mysteries of Dionysus, making a slight variance. For I will not believe that the honours shown in Egypt to that God would agree by chance only with those paid in Greece,—they would then have been more akin to Greek custom, and of less novel origin ; and still less will I allow that the people of Egypt borrowed this, or any other conventional matter from those of Greece. It seems to me that Melampus got knowledge of the Dionysian ritual from Cadmus of Tyre, and from the men who came with him from Phœnice into the country called Boœtia.

50. Into Greece from Egypt came nearly all the titles of the gods. Inquiring into the cause of their derivation from foreigners, I have satisfied myself that the case is so, and I think them to have come mainly from Egypt. For, if you except Poseidon and the Dioscuri, of whom I before made mention, and with these, Heræ, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Charities and the Nereids, the Egyptians have had the names of all the other gods in their country from time unknown. I say what the Egyptians themselves say ; and as to those gods with whose titles they deny any acquaintance, I think they had their names, excepting Poseidon, from the Pelasgi. Poseidon is a deity derived from the Libyans, for none have retained that name from the beginning except this people, and they have constantly honoured it. The Egyptians make no heroes, and pay no honours to any such.

51. In these respects, as also in others of which I shall speak, the Greeks have got their customs from the Egyptians. They learned the obscene fashion of the

images whereby they represent Hermes from the Pelasgians and not the Egyptians; the Athenians being the first of the Grecians to adopt it, and the rest taking it from them. For at the very time when the Athenians were taking rank as Greeks, the Pelasgians became their fellow-settlers in the country, and thence began also to bear the name of Hellenes. Whoever has passed the mystical Cabeiric celebrations, which the Samothracians learned to observe from the Pelasgians—he is the man who will know my view. The Pelasgians dwelt in Samothrace long before they went to live in Attica, and the people of the island learned these mysteries from them. So comes it that the Athenians only of all the Greeks who imitate them, make their images of Hermes after this fashion; and the Pelasgians had a religious story to tell about it, which is developed in the mystic rites at Samothrace.

52. In old time, the Pelasgic people offered all kinds of creatures in their worship of the gods, as I know from information at Dodona; but style and title gave they to none of them, since they had never heard any. They called them all *gods* (Theous), because they had been the *good* disposers (Theutes) of all matters and orders in the world. Afterwards, in the course of many ages, the names of the gods came from Egypt, and they acquired them all, except that of Dionysus, which they became acquainted with long after. After a while, they sent to question the oracle at Dodona about these names; which oracle is held to be the most ancient in Greece, and was at that time the only one existing. Upon asking at Dodona—"Shall we assume the titles which be come from the strangers?" the oracle bade them "assume"; and from that date, in all their religious worship, they have used these names for the gods. From these Pelasgians the Greeks afterwards adopted the same.

53. But whence came each god, and whether all alike have always existed, and what manner of form each bore: of all this the Greeks knew nothing until

the day before yesterday, if I may say so. Hesiod and Homer are, as I think, some four hundred years before me in date; certainly no more; and these are they who first composed theologies for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods for them, awarding them honours and offices, and depicting their appearances. The poets who are said to have existed before these two, came after, in my judgment. For the former statement, however, the priestesses at Dodona made it to me; what I say later of Hesiod and Homer, I say upon my own warrant.

54. About the two oracles—that in Greece and that in Libya—the Egyptians tell you this story; the priests of the Thebaic Zeus related it to me:—Two of the holy women were carried off once from Thebes by the Phœnicians; one, they heard, was sold into Libya, and the other to the Grecians, and these two women were the first to establish the oracles in the two nations mentioned. When I questioned them how they came to know and speak so certainly, they answered me that “much search had been set afoot for these women, and they were unable to come at them, but afterwards they learned what they had recounted to me about them.”

55. So much for what I gathered in Thebes from the priests; this is what they who stand before the shrine in Dodona gave me to understand:—Two black pigeons came flying from Thebes in Egypt; the one settled in Libya, the other with them. Lighting upon an oak tree, she began to speak with the voice of men, and bade that an oracle of Zeus should henceforth exist on that spot. They who heard this, supposing the message to come from heaven to them, set themselves to do accordingly. In like manner they say the dove which flew to Libya commanded the Libyans to found the oracle of Ammon, which is also an oracle of Zeus. The priestesses of Dodona (the name of the eldest is Promeneia, of the next Timarete, and of the youngest Nikandra) are my informants, and the

other Dodonæans who dwell about the temple agreed in their account.

56. I have my opinion about these matters, which is this. If of a truth the Phœnicians bore off the holy women, and sold one into Libya, and the other to the Grecians—the last-named, she who went into Greece (as it is now called, but Pelasgia as its name was then), must, I think, have been parted with to the Thesprotians. During her slavery, she built a temple to Zeus under an oak growing there, recalling in her new home, as was fitting for a votaress at the temple in Thebes, the name of the Theban god. Out of this, on mastering the Grecian tongue, she founded the oracle, and she it was who told how her sister had been sold away into Libya by the same Phœnicians who had disposed of herself.

57. That the Dodonæans called these women doves was, I think, because they were foreigners, and seemed to them to chirp like birds. After a space, they say, the dove began to speak with a human voice, because the woman learned to utter what they could comprehend; whereas till then she had seemed to them, in her foreign fashion, to twitter like a bird. How, indeed, should a dove speak with a human voice? and whereas they say the dove was black, they do but plainly declare that the woman was an Egyptian. The oracle at Thebes too, in Egypt, and that in Dodona, happen to present a strong likeness. Divination by slain victims came also from the Egyptians.

58. First also of all men, the Egyptians established solemn congregations, processions, and liturgies; and the Greeks learned these too from them. This is my proof: in Egypt they have been clearly employed from a very far date, whereas in Greece their employment is of to-day.

59. The Egyptians hold these congregations not once only in the year, but frequently: that best attended, and with greatest earnestness, is to the glory of Artemis, at Bubastis. The next in importance is in honour of Isis, at Busiris; for in that city is the chief

temple of Isis, and the city itself stands in the heart of the Egyptian Delta. In the Greek tongue, Isis is Deméter. The third great festival they go up to Sais to keep, to Athena; the fourth is to the sun, at Heliopolis; the fifth to Latona, at Bâto; and the sixth is at Pampremis to celebrate Ares.

60. These are their customs, when they repair to Bubastis city. They sail down together, men and women—a goodly number of both in each boat. Some of the women carry castanets, and rattle them, and some of the men pipe to them throughout the voyage; the rest, men and women alike, sing and clap their hands. When they be thus come on their course to any town, they put the boat in shore, and while some of the women continue their songs and music, others call out to the women in the town, laughing at them, and abusing them, while others engage in dancing, or, standing up, proceed to strip themselves. This do they by every riverain village, and when they reach Bubastis, the feasts are begun with abundant sacrifices; more grape-wine being expended upon them than in all the remainder of the year. They who so come together, only men and women, and not regarding the children, amount, as the people of the place aver, to seventy myriads. Thus do they there.

61. At Busiris, how they make their feast to Isis, I have before related; then is it that all of them, men and women, and many myriads of them too, beat themselves; but to whose glory they beat themselves I must not tell. Such of the Carians as are sojourners in Egypt, perform the penance yet more severely, in that they hack their faces with knives, and are thereby known to be strangers and no Egyptians.

62. At Sais, when they meet to make the sacrifices, there is one night whereon all alike kindle lanterns and hang them in the air round their houses. The lanterns are small saucers, filled with oil upon salt, and the wick floats upon the surface, burning all night. This feast is called the feast of lanterns, and those

Egyptians who come not to the assembly light lamps for themselves, and thus keep the great night of the festival, so that not only in Sais are lights burning, but all over Egypt. To account for the illumination made on this night, and the great observance of it, there is a religious legend told.

63. They repair to Heliopolis and Bâto to perform sacrifices only; but at Panipremis, as elsewhere, they celebrate sacrifices and other rites as well. So soon as the sun is getting low, some few only of the priests carry on their duties about the idol; the others, with wooden clubs, place themselves in the doorway of the temple. Another troop of those who thus perform a vow, in number above a thousand, place themselves with cudgels on the other side. The image, borne in a small shrine of wood, covered with gold, is brought by them to an outer sacred edifice on the day preceding. The few that were left about the idol there then begin to draw forth a four-wheeled cart, bearing the shrine, and the idol placed therein. Those who stand in the space before the gates oppose its entrance; the others, to keep their vows, take the side of the god, and attack the assailants, who resist. Then arises a tremendous battle with clubs; heads are broken, and, as I believe, many even die of their wounds,—but this the Egyptians steadfastly deny.

64. The people of the country give this story of the origin of the festival. Once the mother of Ares lived in the temple, and her son was brought up away from home, and on becoming a man, desired much to visit her. The gate-keepers of his mother's temple, never having before beheld him, refused to admit him, and kept him off. Thereat he collected men from other quarters of the city, and, handling the gate-keepers roughly, forced his way to his mother's presence. Hence, say the Egyptians, arose this fight in honour of Ares at the festival.

To have no conversation with women in the temples, and never to enter them after such, without ablution—

these things the Egyptians first enjoined. Nearly all other nations of men except the Greeks and Egyptians disregard these rules, regarding men in these respects but as the brutes. They point to the constant practice of animals in defence of their shamelessness, and to prove the indifference of the gods—taking a view which I cannot admire. The Egyptians, however, are specially nice upon all things connected with their worship, and upon these among them.

65. Bordering as Egypt does upon Libya, it is not however remarkable for its wild animals. Such as it has are all accounted sacred, and some of these are brought up with human beings; others are not so domesticated. If I should say wherefore they are held sacred, and ascribed to the several gods, I should be tempted to speak of religious matters, a thing which I earnestly avoid. Indeed, wherever I have touched lightly upon them, I have spoken perforce, and from sheer necessity.

Their rule with regard to animals is as follows:—Guardians are set apart for the care of each kind, and to give them food; these are of both sexes, and the child succeeds the parent in the honourable office. The men in each Egyptian city keep the vow they have made to any god by discharging it to his creatures. They shave either all or a half or a third part of the heads of their children, and weigh silver against the hairs, and whatever weight of it draws the scale, that they make over to the guardian of the animals, who thereon cuts up some fish, and gives it to his beasts to eat, this being the food which is kept apart for them. If a man kill one of these creatures, and do it of malice aforethought, death is the penalty; if he do it unwittingly, he pays whatever fine the priests may appoint him: but whoever kills an ibis or hawk, whether mischievously or of mischance—that man must die.

66. A host of animals live in the Egyptian houses, and their number would be greater, but that a strange thing befalls the cats. When they kitten, they thence-

forth shun the males, and these, although desirous, cannot come at them. This do they therefore: they seize the kittens, carry them off, and kill, but do not devour them; then the females, being deprived of their offspring, and seeking to replace them, once more visit the males—for it is a beast that loveth much its young. When a fire breaks out, a strange thing too happens with the cats. The people stand apart, desiring to protect the cats, and quite neglecting to extinguish the flames; while the cats, slipping between the men's legs, and even leaping over them, rush madly into the conflagration. When this occurs, great grief seizes the Egyptians: if indeed a cat die naturally in any of their houses, the indwellers all shave their eye-brows; but should it be a dog, they must shave the whole body, with the head.

67. The cats are taken, on their decease, to the sacred catacombs at Bubastis, where they embalm and bury them; the dogs are interred by the men of each city in the consecrated places. Ichneumons are honoured with the same funeral as the dogs; but all field-mice and hawks are removed to Buto city, and the sacred ibises to the city of Hermes. Bears, which be few in Egypt, and wolves, which are there but a little bigger than foxes, they bury wheresoever they be found lying dead.

68. The nature of the crocodiles is this. All the four deep-winter months the crocodile eats nothing: it is a four-footed beast, and as much of the land as of the water; for it lays its eggs on the land, and hatches them, spending the most of the day upon the bank; but remaining all night in the river, as the water is warmer than the night-sky and the dew. Of all creatures known, this, from the smallest, grows to the greatest dimensions, for its eggs are but a little larger than a goose-egg, and the young fry is proportionate to the egg; but it attains in growing to seventeen cubits, and even more. It has the eyes of a hog, and large tush-like teeth, of a size in accordance with its body. It is the

only creature that has no tongue, and cannot move the lower jaw, being also the only one that works the upper jaw against the lower. It has strong claws, and a scaly hide, not to be pierced along the back; it is blind in the water, but on shore specially quick-sighted. Passing its time in the river, it has its mouth covered with leeches inside; and all other birds and beasts will shun it, but the trochilus is on the best of terms with it, as it is much indebted to this bird. For when the crocodile goes up from the river to the shore, and lies gaping there (and this it is wont to do whenever the west wind blows); the trochilus enters into his mouth, and eats up the leeches; whereat the beast is mightily eased, and will in no wise hurt the trochilus.

69. With some of the Egyptians the crocodiles are held sacred; not so with others, who persecute him as an enemy. Those about Thebes and the Lake Meris are the men who hold them especially holy, and each city has one among all, which they train up to be gentle and tame. They stick in its ears ornaments of glass and gold, and put bangles upon the fore-paws, and give it regular portions of corn and the flesh of victims, and sedulously attend it with their best, while living; and when dead they embalm and bury it in the holy sepulchres.

The inhabitants of Elephantina and the neighbourhood not only think them not sacred, but even eat them. They are not called crocodiles by these people, but *champsæ*; and, indeed, the name of crocodile was given by the Ionians, noting thereby their resemblance to the lizards, which live in the walls of the Ionian houses.

70. There be many methods of capturing the beast, and all different; I will describe that one which seems to me most worthy of narration. The hunter fastens a pig's chine about a hook, and lets it down in mid-stream; he then takes his stand upon the river-bank with a sucking-pig in his hand, and belabours it. The crocodile hears the pig squeaking, and goes in the direction of the sound, when coming across the bait, he swallows it

down. They hale him out, and so soon as ever he reaches land, the hunter plasters up his eyes with mud. When this is accomplished, he is easily handled; but unless this be observed, he makes much ado.

71. The river-horse is sacred throughout the Pan-premitic province, but not elsewhere; its nature and appearance is of this wise:—The animal is four-footed, and divides the hoof, which resembles that of an ox; it is broad-nosed, and has the mane and tail of a horse, with a snort like to one, and it shows a tremendous row of tusks. Its size is that of an ox at his biggest, and its hide is of such thickness, that it can be dried and cut into well-polished javelins.

72. There be water-snakes in the river too, which also they account holy. Of all fishes the benny-fish and the eel are those which they consider sacred. These are holy to the Nile beyond all other fishes, and beyond all birds the fox-goose.

73. Another sacred bird there is, whose name is the phoenix; not that I have seen it, except in a picture, for indeed it rarely goes thither, and as the folks of Thebes say, but once in five hundred years. It comes, they say, when the old bird dies, and if it be like its picture, it is such and so formed as I shall here describe. The feathers are red at the base, with golden webs, and it is in size and shape very like an eagle. This bird, say they, although I give them little credence, contrives a most marvellous device. He sets out from Arabia for the temple of the Sun with the body of his father, first rolling it in a ball of myrrh, and upon arriving he buries it. To bring it, he hath first to knead an egg of myrrh as big as he hath strength to carry—of which he makes trial by taking it up; when this is done, he hollows out the egg, and puts his father into it, filling up the hole whereby he introduces him, with fresh myrrh. Thus, with the addition of his parent, it weighs just as much as before; and so he closes it, and brings it to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Thus doth this bird, according to the common story.

74. About Thebes there are sacred serpents, in no wise deadly to man. They are small of size, with two horns, which grow from the crown of the head. These, when dead, they bury in the temple of Zeus, esteeming them sacred to that deity.

75. There is a district of Arabia, lying as near as may be over against Bato city, and I went thither to inquire about the winged serpents. I saw, upon arriving, the bones and spines of serpents, in number more than I can tell,—there were piles of these skeletons, some large, some not so large, and others again quite small;—there were vast numbers. Where the bones lie heaped is a place where a mountain pass opens into a wide plain, and this plain joins the great plain of Egypt. The tale goes that every spring the winged serpents set out from Arabia to fly to Egypt, but that the birds called ibises meet them in this spot at the pass, and prevent their passage, and devour them. The Arabians say of the Egyptians that it is on this account that the ibis is venerated by them; and the Egyptians allow that they honour these birds for this cause.

76. The ibis is a bird of this description. It is of an ebony-black colour, and has the legs of a crane, with a very hooked beak, and is in size as large as a land-rail. The black sort, which wages war with the serpents, is of this kind. But there are two varieties of the ibis, and that which feeds about among people's feet is quite bare on the head and all down the neck. Its plumage is white; but the head, neck, wing-tips, and the end of its rump, all these are as black as can be. In legs and beak, it is like the other species. The winged serpent has a form like the water-snake; the wings it has are not feathered, but in all respects like the (leathern) wings of a bat. Thus much I have to say of those animals which be accounted sacred.

77. Returning to the people themselves: those Egyptians who live about the corn country cultivate the faculty of narration far beyond all other men, and are accordingly the best at history of all people of

whom I have experience. This is the mode of life which they follow. They purge for three days together in each month, guarding thus their health with emetics and clysters, from a conviction that all human diseases arise from what is taken as food. Without regard to this, the Egyptians are, after the Libyans, the healthiest people in the world, — a result, as I think, of their climate, which has no seasonal changes. For it is at periods of change that most maladies arise; change, I mean, of all kinds, but especially of the seasons. They are bread-eaters, and make their loaves of spelt, which some of them call "eyllëstis." They drink a wine got from barley, for they have no vines in the country, and they eat fish raw, after drying them in the sun, or pickling them with salt. Birds too, such as quails, ducks, and sparrows, they will eat without cooking—first salting them, however. All other birds and fishes found among them, except such as are set apart for sacred, they eat readily, roast or boiled.

78. In the feasts given by their great ones, so soon as they cease from dinner, a servant bears round a wooden effigy of a corpse lying in its coffin, faithfully presented in all that carving and colour can do, and from one to two cubits long. He shows it to each guest, and says, "Gaze on this, and get thee to thy drink and revel, for thou shalt die and be as this is." So do they at their banquets.

79. They follow the customs of their fathers, and will adopt no new ones. Of these, many are worthy of note, and specially that one national song of Linus, which is chaunted not only by them but in Phœnicia, in Cyprus, and elsewhere. It has a different title in each tongue, but it seems to be the very same which the Greeks call also Linus, and commonly sing. So that, among the many things in Egypt which caused me marvel, this was one,—whence they obtained this song of Linus? for it appears to have been among them from time immemorial. Linus in Egyptian is Maneros, and the Egyptians have it that he was the only son of the

first king of Egypt, and that, dying before his prime, he is thus bewailed and celebrated throughout Egypt. They say too, that this was their first, and is their only national hymn.

80. There is one other thing wherein the Egyptians agree with the Lacedæmonians only of all the Greeks. When their youths meet the elders among them, they yield the path to them, and turn aside, and upon their entrance immediately stand up. But in this respect again they differ from all Grecians; in place of addressing each other in the streets, they salute by lowering the hand down to the knee.

81. Their garments are tunics of linen, tasselled about the legs,—they call them "calasiris." Over these they wear a mantle of white wool, folded at pleasure: woollen robes must not, however, be taken into the temples, nor buried with the wearer—that would not be right. Herein they agree with what is taught in the Bacchic and Orphic mysteries, which after all are Egyptian and Pythagorean. It is not allowed that one who has taken part in these rituals should be buried in garments of wool. There is a mysterious reason given for the prohibition.

82. Among the things invented by the Egyptians are these: the ascription of each month and day to a particular deity, and to know, by the day on which a man is born, what fortune he will meet with, and when he will die, and what kind of man he will be:—some Greek poets, too, have made use of these arts. And more prognostics have been observed by them than by all other men, for when one occurs they carefully write down what follows upon it; so that if ever anything similar befalls, they look to have a similar consequence resulting.

83. Of the art of soothsaying thus declare they: it is one which may be practised by no man, and of the gods only by some few. Thus they have in the land an oracle of Hercules, and others of Apollo, and Athena, and Artemis, and Ares, and Zeus, besides that of

Latona in the city of Bâto, which they reverence beyond all. The oracular responses are not, however, made in the same way; on the contrary, they differ greatly.

84. The art of physic is thus handled among them. Every leech devotes himself to one malady, and to no other, and every corner of the land abounds with them. Some call themselves eye-leeches, some head-leeches; others mediciners for the teeth, for the bowels, or for diseases whose origin is not determined.

85. They have funeral songs, and their funerals are thus conducted:—When the death of a man of consideration occurs, all the women of that house bedaub their faces and heads with mire. Then, leaving the corpse in the house, they go forth, and wander up and down the city, beating themselves; with their dresses fastened only by a girdle, and their bosoms displayed. With them go also all the female relations: and the men too, begirt after the same fashion, do the same elsewhere. After this is performed, they carry the corpse forth for the embalming.

86. There are men who devote themselves to perform this duty, and have made an art of it. When a body is brought to them, they show patterns of corpses made in wood to the hearers, carefully painted to imitate nature. The best worked of these is said to be made after the likeness of one whom I think it not lawful to name upon such a subject; the second quality is much inferior to this, and not so costly; and the third is easiest of all to the purse. The embalmers explain this, and ask in which fashion they will have the body made ready; and the friends of the corpse decide then and there, agree upon the price, and take their departure. Left behind in the building, the embalmers thus set about the highest or most complete process. First they draw the brain out through the nostrils with a crooked iron, bringing away what they can of it so, and for the rest pouring in drugs. After that, they make a longitudinal cut on the flank with a sharp Æthiopian stone,

and they take out thereby all the entrails. Then they clean the cavity, and wash it thoroughly with wine of palm, rinsing it again with a decoction of finely-chopped aromatics. Next they fill the space with the best myrrh pounded fine, and with cassia and other spices, avoiding only frankincense; and this done they sew all up again. These preparations complete, they soak the corpse in litrum, keeping it close covered for seventy days. More than that period is not allowed for embalment, and when it is completed, they wash the body clean, and wrap every part of it in bandages cut from linen made of byssus, smearing gum under every fold, a substance largely employed by the Egyptians instead of glue. The relations come then to receive it, and have a wooden case made in the shape of a man, into which, when prepared, they deposit the body. They fasten the case down, and store it up in a sepulchral vault, placing it upright against the wall. This is their most lavish method of embalming the dead.

87. For those who are moderate in their desires, and would shun expense, they have this mode. Charging clyster-pipes with an unguent obtained from the cedar, they inject it, till they have filled the bowels, which they do not remove by incision, but simply flood as I have said, by the anus. Closing that passage against the return of the liquid, they steep the corpse for the prescribed number of days, on the last whereof they permit the cedar-oil before injected to make its way out. It has such power as to bring away with it all the stomach and entrails in the form of a liquid. The litrum has meanwhile dried away the flesh, so that what is left of the body is the skin and skeleton only. When they have completed so much, they do nothing more to the corpse, but hand it over.

88. The third manner of preservation is that wherewith they prepare the corpses of the poorer sort. After cleansing out the interior with a drench, they lay the body in soak for the seventy days, and then make it over to be carried away.

89. When the wives of men of rank die, they are not at once given up for embalment ; nor indeed are any women who have been comely and much cared for. Not till they have been three or four days dead are such surrendered to the operators. And this is done to avoid indignities on the part of these people ; for such an enormity, say they, has been known to occur, and was detected by a workman of the same craft.

90. If an Egyptian, or even if a stranger die, and his death be due to a crocodile who has carried him off, or to drowning in the river : that city near to which he is washed ashore is bound under any circumstances to embalm him with all attendant costliness, and to give him burial in the sacred sepulchres. It is not permitted that any other man should touch him, whether relation or friend,—the priests of Nilo alone, as the remains of something above humanity, take his body in hand and perform the funeral.

91. They shrink from adopting any of the Grecian customs, and sooth to say, those also of any other race of men. All the Egyptians preserve this feeling, except those of Chemmis, which is a large city of the Thebaic province, neighbouring to Neapolis. In this place there is a temple, built in the form of a square, which is sacred to Perseus the son of Danaö. Round about it grow palm-trees ; the porch, which is stone, is of majestic size, and upon it are two gigantic human figures also carved in stone. Inside the walled court stands a shrine, and within the shrine an image of Perseus. The people of Chemmis give out that Perseus hath oftentimes shown himself about the country, and oftentimes within the shrine ; and that a sandal worn by him is often found there, whose length is two cubits ; and that upon these appearances all Egypt fares well ;—such is their legend. In honour of this Perseus, they use Greek forms, celebrating a gymnastic contest, and going through all its divisions, with prizes of cattle, mantles, and skins. Upon my inquiry wherefore Perseus was thus wont to appear to them only, and why they alone,

apart from other Egyptians, engaged in the games, they answered me,—“Perseus sprang from our city, for Danaus and Lynceus (his progenitors) were citizens of Chemmis before they sailed from Egypt for Greece.” Hereupon they traced me the descent from these men to Perseus, and added, “When he came to Egypt on that quest of which the Greeks tell, to fetch the Gorgon's head out of Libya, he visited us, and recognised us for his kinsmen. He brought with him to Egypt a knowledge of the name of our city, having learned it from his mother, and we established the contest in his honour, at his own personal bidding.”

92. All thus far described are the manners and customs of those Egyptians who live south of the marshes; the dwellers in the marshes follow the other Egyptians in every respect, and also in confining themselves to a single wife, as do the Greeks. But to procure sufficiency of sustenance, the marshmen have their own resources. When the river swells, and the plain becomes a sea, vast numbers of a certain lily grow in the water, which the Egyptians call the lotus. They pluck the lotus blossoms, and dry them in the sun, and then extract from the heart of them a thing like to a poppy-head, which they pound small, and make into loaves and bake. The root also of this lily is eatable, and marvellously sweet; it is round, and in largeness like an apple. There are other lilies besides this, which are like roses, and also grow in the river: the fruit of these grows from the root, by the side of the blossom but on another stalk, and is like nothing so much as a wasp-comb. What is good to eat is the seed, numbers of which, as large as an olive-pip, are contained in it; and you eat them fresh from the tree or dried. The byblus grows every year in the marshes, and when they pull it up, they cut the top off for another purpose, but what is left, being about a cubit's length, they eat or sell. Those who would have their byblus good, cook it in an open oven, and so eat it. Some of them live entirely upon fish; upon catching them, they take out

the inside, and hang them to dry in the sun, and when they are well dried they eat them so.

93. Of the fish, those which be gregarious are not much found in the rivers; they haunt rather the marshy pools. At the season for breeding, they go forth in shoals to the sea, the males leading the way, and shedding the milt as they go; while the females follow close after and swallow it, whereby they conceive. While at sea they become full of spawn, and then they prepare to swim back again, each shoal to its own haunt. They have not now, however, the same leaders as before: the females assume that place, and proceeding in a body do as the males did, inasmuch as they shed along the way their spawn-grains, which the males, who now follow, eat up. These spawn-grains are each a fish, and fishes come of all those grains which escape the males, and are not swallowed. Those fish which be caught on their passage seaward are seen to be scarred on the left side of the head, while those taken on the return journey are so marked on the right side. The reason is this: to sail out to sea they keep hard by the left shore; to swim back again they stick to the same side, grazing and grating against it constantly, in order not to miss the way, by reason of the force of the current. When the Nile begins to swell, the hollows of the country and the sunken fields along the river are always first filled, the water filtering through to them: and no sooner are they full, than they all swarm with small fishes. Whence this in all likelihood happens I think I know: during the subsidence of the Nile in the year before, fishes had laid their spawn upon the mud in these spots, and then retired with the last retreating waters; and as soon as in the course of the seasons the water returned, the fry are immediately produced from this spawn, and so comes it that we find them. Thus much for the fishes.

94. The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil obtained from the fruit of the *palma christi*, called in the Egyptian tongue "kiki." Their method

of producing it is this : they plant the shrub along the edges of the pools and the shores of the river (although it grows wild in Greece), and in course of time it produces a great quantity of fruit, which has, however, a noisome odour. When they have gathered the fruit, they either cut it fine and press it, or they boil it down after first parching it. What comes away in either process is collected, and has a fatty appearance, being in no way inferior to olive-oil for lamps ; it has, nevertheless, an unbearable smell.

95. Against the mosquitoes, which are innumerable, they have these contrivances :—Those who live above the marshes make towers to serve them for defence, into which they ascend at night to sleep, the mosquitoes not being able to fly high by reason of the wind. But those who live in the marshes have another invention instead of the towers. Each man has his net, wherewith he takes fish by day, and by night he suspends it over his bed, creeping under it to sleep. If he rolled himself in his garment to slumber, or wrapped himself in muslin only, the mosquitoes would get at him through these, but they never even attempt to pass the meshes of the net.

96. The vessels which they employ for the carrying of merchandise are constructed of the wood of the acacia, a tree which most resembles in its character the lotus of Cyrene, and sheds a gum. They cut planks from this tree about two cubits in breadth, and build their vessels of them, proceeding about it thus : they lash the planks to a number of long ribs, one over the other, and when the ship's frame is thus finished, they fix upon the top of it the deck and rowing benches. No fastenings are employed, and the seams are caulked inside with papyrus. They make but one rudder, and this works in a hole let through the stern-post ; the mast is of acacia wood, and the sails they use are made of byblus. Boats like these cannot sail up-stream, unless there be a lasting and brisk breeze ; they are consequently towed from the shore. Down-stream the voyage is

thus made : a raft is prepared of tamarind wood, fastened together with mat-work of reeds, and a bored stone of about three talents in weight. Of these two, the raft is fastened by a rope, and allowed to float ahead, while the stone is suspended by another rope astern. The raft, borne by the current, floats along bravely, and tows the boat (or "baris," as the name of these craft is), and the stone dragging behind, and hanging deep, keeps her in an even course. They possess of these vessels a wonderful number, and some of them will carry a burden of many thousand talents.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the cities are alone seen above water, like nothing so much as the islands in the *Ægean* sea ; for, except the cities which are above the inundation, all Egypt becomes one sea. When this occurs, they sail their boats directly across the plains, instead, as before, along the channel of the stream. Thus, if you go from Naucratis to Memphis, your course at this season lies close to the pyramids, whereas the usual line is not this, but past the head of Delta and the town Kerkasorus. From Canopus, on the coast, you may also sail across country to Naucratis, and you will go by Anthylla, and the city named after Archander.

98. Anthylla, mentioned above, is a city of repute, and is specially assigned to the wife of the reigning king of Egypt, for her expenses in sandals. This has obtained ever since Egypt came under the Persians. The other of the two cities seems to me to have its name from the son-in-law of Danaus and son of Achæus, Archander the Phthian. It is called Archander's city, and though of course there may have been another Archander, the name is certainly not Egyptian.

99. Hitherto then, my own eyesight or judgment or inquiries have prompted what I found to say ; but henceforward I shall repeat the Egyptian traditions, as I heard them, adding to them what is needful out of my own observation.

Mên was the first king of Egypt,—so said the priests ; and he it was who built the dyke before Memphis. The river used to flow throughout close at the foot of the sandy hills on the side of Libya, but Mên, by damming back the river at a bend in its course some hundred furlongs south of Memphis, drained the old channel, and led the river by a new one midway between the hills. To this day even, under the Persian rule, that angle of the river where its course is changed is carefully watched, and strengthened every year. For if the river should be minded to burst through here and break over the plain, there is danger that all Memphis would be overwhelmed. When therefore Mên, the first king of Egypt, had had dry land made of the space so shut off, this did he : he built a city upon it, called Memphis to this day, and situate in the narrow part of Egypt. This done, he dug a lake outside the city on the north and west, supplying it from the river, which was itself the boundary on the eastern side. After this, he erected on it a temple to Hephaestus, of mighty size and very worthy of mention.

100. Next to him, the priests read me out from a byblus the names of three hundred and thirty kings, his successors. In all these generations eighteen were Ethiopian, and one a lady of the land ; all the rest were masculine and Egyptians. The name of the one queen was like her's of Babylon, Nitocris : they spoke of her as having taken vengeance for her brother, who had been king of Egypt, but was slain by his subjects, who offered the kingly power to her. To avenge his death, she destroyed a vast number of Egyptians by a stratagem. She had a long underground hall constructed, and proposed to inaugurate it, with very different intentions in her heart. Inviting, therefore, those Egyptians whom she knew to have shared largely in her brother's death, she made them a banquet, and in the middle of the feast she let in the river upon them through a secret but spacious passage. Thus much they told me of this queen, and also that to escape the penalty of her

deed, she threw herself into a chamber filled with ashes.

101. As for the other kings, these, they said, did no works or deeds in any way worthy of exposition or narration, excepting the last of all, who was named Mœris. This monarch raised many structures in commemoration of his reign, and among them the gateway of the temple of Hephestus, which looks northwards; the lake dug by him, whose dimensions I will presently give; and the pyramids which he built in it, whose size I will speak of at the same opportunity. Such were the results of his reign; none of the other monarchs left any.

102. Passing over them, therefore, I shall speak of that king who succeeded them, by name Sesostris. His first expedition, the priests said, was made from the Arabian gulf in war-ships, to subdue the dwellers along the coast of the Erythræan sea; and he advanced so far that he came to waters no longer navigable by reason of shallows. Returning thence to Egypt, as the priests' account went, he marched across the continent with a vast army, overthrowing every nation that stood in his way. Whenever he encountered in this march a warlike people, and such as strove manfully for their liberties, he erected pillars in their country, bearing in carved letters his name, and the name of his country, and how by his own might he had subdued them. But wherever the people shrank from fighting, and weakly gave over their cities, there set he up pillars as elsewhere, but also inscribed upon them a certain emblem to show that they were a herd of unwarlike women.

103. Thus marking his path, he traversed the continent; and reached the strait, crossing which from Asia to Europe, he subdued the Seythians and Thracians. And thus far at farthest, in my judgment, the Egyptian army came, for in all these countries the pillars are to be seen fixed, but nowhere beyond these. Turning back homewards, he came to the banks of the river Phasis, and here I cannot safely speak. Either King

the country, or some of his soldiers had grown weary of wandering, and stayed behind of their own will on the banks of the Phasis.

104. Certainly, the Colchians seem to be of Egyptian origin; I say so from conclusions formed by me before I heard the statement elsewhere. After I had conceived the opinion, I made inquiry among both races, and found the Colchians had surer memories of the Egyptians than they of the Colchians. The Egyptians themselves however averred that the Colchians were the descendants of the soldiers of Sesostris. I conjectured the same firstly, because they are black of skin, and have woolly hair. I grant this goes for nothing, as other races have these marks. But I dwell on this especially, that of all mankind the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are the only nations who have always practised circumcision. The Phœnicians who do so, and the Syrians of Palestine, confess freely that they learned the custom from the Egyptians; and the Syrians of the country about Thermædon and the river Parthenius, with their next neighbours the Maerones, admit that they borrowed it but very lately from the Colchians. These names include all the nations of men practising circumcision, and they all appear to agree in imitating the Egyptian custom; but of the Egyptians and Ethiopians I cannot say which derived it from the other. Beyond doubt, it is a very ancient practice in Ethiopia; but that the others learned it by intercourse with the Egyptians is mightily probable, I think, from this, that whoever of the Phœnicians engage in commerce with the Greeks forego this Egyptian habit, and abstain from circumcision in the case of their children.

105. I can bring fresh proof, look you, of the likeness which the Colchians bear to the Egyptians. These people have the same way of weaving linen as the Egyptians, and no one else has it. In their whole manner of

life, and language also, they resemble each other. This linen of Colchis is called by the Greeks Sardinian, while that which reaches us from Egypt is known as Egyptian.

106. Of those pillars which King Sesostris set up in the conquered countries, the greater number are no longer to be met with. I have seen some myself in Palestine of Syria, with the inscriptions, and the sarcastic emblem. Ionia too contains two figures of this monarch cut in the rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In each there is the figure of a man carved, four cubits high, and in his right hand he holds a spear and in his left a bow; the rest of his equipments like these being partly Egyptian partly Ethiopian. From one shoulder to the other an inscription passes like a belt, written in the sacred Egyptian character to this purpose,—“I won this country by my brawn.” Who and whence he is, is not given in these instances; elsewhere that also is told. Accordingly, some of those who have seen the figures imagine them to represent Memnon; in this being certainly very wide of the truth.

107. Sesostris the Egyptian returned home, bringing with him a vast number of people from the countries which he had subdued. The priests related that when he was arrived at Daphnæ, by Pelusium, his brother, to whom Sesostris had entrusted Egypt, bade him with all his children to a banquet. Meanwhile he had the festal chamber heaped round with wood, and set fire thereto, which Sesostris perceiving took instant counsel of his queen who had come with him to the banquet. She advised him to take two of his six sons, and thrust them on the flames, making thereby a bridge over the blazing pile upon which the others might pass out and escape. Sesostris did as she suggested, and two of his sons were thus burned to death, the others, along with their father, making their way out.

108. When Sesostris had reached his palace in Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, he proceeded

to find a use for the multitude which he had brought from the countries conquered by him. Accordingly, they were employed to drag the great blocks of stone which were transported during his reign to the temple of Hephæstus; and of all the canals now intersecting Egypt they too were perforce the excavators. Against their will they thus made Egypt useless for horses and chariots, whereas before it had been a land excellently fitted for them; and from that date Egypt, level plain though it be, is quite without horses and carriages, because its canals are so numerous, and cut it up in so many directions. The king thought it good so to subdivide the country, because all those Egyptians who lived in towns in the heart of the land, and remote from the river's bank, had up till now lacked water, and upon the retiring of the flood had been forced to drink a brackish water procured from wells.

109. I was also told that Sesostris made a re-division of the land among the Egyptians, giving to all alike a square piece of ground of equal size; and these he made the sources of his revenue, establishing a yearly rent for their occupation. If by chance the river washed away a portion from any man's share, he had to come in and represent the circumstance; and the king would despatch inspectors and surveyors to report the extent of decrease, in order that for the future he might pay the just proportion only of the original tax. From this I think geometry may have taken its rise, and finally have passed into Greece; for the sun-dial and gnomon and the twelve divisions of the day are so derived, and were adopted by the Greeks from the Babylonians.

110. This was the only monarch of Egypt who ever held sway of Ethiopia also. He has left in memory of his rule the stone statues in front of the temple of Hephæstus. There are two in number, each thirty cubits long, representing himself and his queen, and four of twenty cubits, representing his four sons. It was in front of these images that the priest of Hephæstus long after refused

Darius permission to place his own, "urging that he had done no deeds to match those of Sesostris, who had overthrown full as many people as he had, and the Scythians to boot, which nation Darius had never been able to subdue." "It was not just," he added, "that Darius should give his own statue a place before that king's, whose deeds he had never yet surpassed." They pretend that Darius took complacently this liberty of speech.

111. On the demise of Sesostris, Pheron his son, said they, succeeded to the throne. He led no expedition, for that he was afflicted with blindness, and for the following reason. The river had risen to the height of eighteen cubits, a very considerable rise in those days, and while thus out a great wind had sprung up, and the water was very rough. The king, indulging his violent rage, seized his spear and hurled it into the foaming river, and was immediately taken with pain in his eye-balls, and blinded. He was blind for ten years; in the eleventh a message reached him from the oracle in Memphis, that "the period of his punishment was over, and that he would enjoy his sight again by bathing his eyes with the urine of one who had been constantly faithful to her husband." His first essay was with his own wife, but failing in success, he made trial indiscriminately; and at last recovering his sight, he ordered all those women, except her who had restored him, to assemble at one city called Erythræolus (Redland). There he burned them all, along with the city, and afterwards married the lady whose faithfulness had brought about his cure. Upon his recovery, he presented votive gifts at all the temples of note in the land, whereof the worthiest of mention are two works of wonderful interest, being obelisks, each carved from a single stone, and each being a hundred cubits in length and eight in breadth.

112. A native of Memphis, they say, succeeded to the sovereignty, whose name according to the Grecian speech is Proteus. An enclosure of this monarch stands to this day in Memphis, exceeding stately and well-

builded, and situate to the north of the temple of Hephestus. Phœnicians from Tyre dwell about the enclosure, and the entire spot is called the Tyrian Lines. Within the enclosure of Proteus is a shrine, which is called by the name of *Aphrodite the Stranger*. I conjecture this to have been erected in honour of Helena, daughter of Tyndarus, both because I have heard tell that Helen tarried long at the court of Proteus, and because Aphrodite is here called the *Stranger*: of all the other temples to the glory of the goddess, none bear this title of her.

113. The priests gave me this information in answer to my questions about Helen. Alexander, when he bore off Helen from Sparta, set instant sail for his own country. While, however, he was crossing the Ægean, winds arose which drove him from his course, and sent him into the Egyptian sea, wherefrom, the storm not abating, he was carried ashore, making land at the salt-pits, a point upon the Canopic mouth of the Nile. There stood then upon the beach, and still exists, a temple to Hercules, wherein a runaway slave might take sanctuary, and to whomsoever he belonged that man could no more touch him, provided the refugee marked himself with the sacred mark, and devoted himself to the god. This law has continued from the earliest date until my time. Here, therefore, the followers of Alexander deserted him, learning the custom of the temple, and sitting as suppliants under favour of the god, they brought charges against Alexander with intent to have him slain, recounting all the story of Helen and the grievous wrong done to Menelaus. These things they alleged in hearing of the priests, and of him who held ward of that mouth of the river, an officer by name Thonis.

114. Thonis, on hearing them, sent in hot haste to Momphis to the palace of King Proteus, announcing "A stranger has arrived here, by race a Teucrian; a man that has wrought an impious crime while in Greece: he has beguiled the wife of his entertainer, and has

brought her away with him, and very much treasure also. The winds have driven him upon thy coasts; wilt thou, therefore, O king, that we let him depart unharmed, or shall we strip him of the booty he hath brought?" In answer the king spake thus:—"This man, whosoever he be, that hath wrought wickedness against his own host, him seize and bring before me, that I may hear what he hath to say."

115. Thonis, on receipt of the command, arrested Alexander, and laid embargo on his ships; he afterwards brought him, with Helen and the treasure and the suppliant crew, before the presence of the king at Memphis. When all were brought before him, Proteus asked of Alexander,—“What man art thou, and whence comest thou hither?” Alexander told him his race and the name of his country, and how and whence he had made voyage. Then said the king,—“Where gottest thou this woman?” Hereat, when Alexander boggled in his answer, and ever avoided the truth, those who had taken sanctuary spake out against him, clearly proving every jot of his crime. Upon this King Proteus spake openly his judgment, saying,—“But that I straitly avoid the death of any stranger, who taken by the winds is driven upon my coasts, surely I would have avenged the Greek upon thee, thou dog and not a man, who, receiving friendly welcome, hath wrought for it a hateful sin! Thou hast gone in unto the wife of thine host; and this sufficed thee not—thou hast fluttered her heart, and taken her, and stolen off; and even so thou wert not content—thou must needs rob the palace of thy entertainer! So comest thou. Now then, sith it is far from me to slay a stranger, I will keep this woman and the treasure, and will not suffer thee to carry them away. I will detain them here for the Greek stranger, until he come in person and be minded to bear them hence. For thee and thy shipmates, I give ye three days to get gone from my dominions; if ye be then not departed, I will handle ye as mine enemies.”

116. Such was the manner of Helen's visit to Egypt

according to the priests. I think that Homer must have heard of it; but as it was not equally adapted for epic verse with that version which he employs, he let it alone, giving proof, however, that he was acquainted with the legend. This is clear from the travel which he ascribes in the *Iliad* to Alexander (and nowhere else has he withdrawn from his statement). He relates that Alexander was driven out of his course in his return with Helen, and, after much wandering, arrived, among other ports, at Sidon in Phœnicia. He mentions it in the chronicle of the Deeds of Diomed, and the lines are these:—

“There too, brodered with purple and gold, were the beautiful
vestments
Woven by maidens of Sidon, the robes which Paris the
godlike
Brought from Sidonian shores, when he came o’er the broad
back of ocean,
Sailing the silvery way with his leman, the gentle-born
Helen.”

He mentions it too in the *Odyssey* in these verses:—

“Potent, wonderful, rare, such drugs had the daughter of
Heaven
By that Egyptian wife, Thôn’s queen, Polydama, im-
parted;
Masterful medicines, plucked from the fruitful breast of
the meadows;
Some were compounded for tender, and some for terrible
uses.”

And these also, wherein Menelaus is addressing Tele-
machus:—

“Sorely I longed to sail back, but the Gods yet held me in
Egypt;
Ill-pleased for that I failed to offer the hecatombs duly.”

These quotations show that the poet knew of Alexander’s visit to Egypt—for Syria is the border-land of Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, are a people of that country.

117. From these lines, and those first quoted especially, it is manifest that the poem called “*Cypria*” is

not Homer's, but the work of some other poet. For in the Cypria it is narrated that Alexander reached Ilium with Helen on the third day after leaving Sparta, and that he came with a fair wind and a smooth sea. In the Iliad he is said to have wandered greatly in his return with her. But to dismiss Homer and the stories of the Cypria.

118. I asked the priests if the tale which the Greeks tell regarding Ilium was all an idle one or no. They made me answer by relating these particulars, which they professed to have learned from Menelaus in person. The Grecian host certainly came to the Trojan shore after the abduction of Helen, and to lend assistance to Menelaus. It landed and camped, and ambassadors therefrom were sent to Ilium, among whom was Menelaus. On entering the walls, they demanded the surrender of Helen and the treasure which Alexander had stolen and carried off with her, as well as satisfaction for these outrages. The Trojans returned the same answer then as afterwards, declaring, and even taking oath to the assertion, that they neither had Helen nor the claimed treasure, but that one and the other were in Egypt; and that it would be unjust for them to make satisfaction for that detention, for which Proteus the Egyptian king was answerable. The Greeks, thinking themselves jeered at by the citizens, at once commenced the siege, and continued it till they took Troy by storm. Upon the capture of the citadel, Helen was not to be found, and they heard the same account as before; whereupon, believing now what had first been told them, they made Menelaus their messenger to the Court of Proteus.

119. Menelaus accordingly reached Egypt, and sailing up to Memphis, related there the true history of all these matters. He experienced the greatest hospitality, receiving Helen back entirely unharmed, and with her all his lost treasures. In spite of this generous treatment, Menelaus was afterwards guilty of great ingratitude to the Egyptians. Contrary winds detained

him at the time when he would have set sail, and upon their obstinate continuance he devised this horrible counterebarm against them: he caught two children of the natives of the district, and offered them as mangled victims, in sacrifice. So soon as it was known that he had done this thing, he was execrated and hunted by the people, and escaped on ship-board into Libya. Whither he then betook himself the Egyptians could not tell me, but thus far they spoke very certainly, partly from the inquiries they had set afoot, and partly from actual and undoubted occurrences in their own country.

120. This was the version communicated to me by the priests; and I give my credence to the answer of the Trojans about Helen, supporting its verity thus. Had Helen been in Ilium, she would have been rendered back to the Greeks whether Alexander gave consent or no: for sure Priam was never so half-witted, nor those of his house, as to peril their lives, their children, and their city, that Alexander might enjoy his Helen. Even had they at the first thus resolved, the death of so many Trojans in battle with the Greeks, the loss of the king's sons—two, three, and even more in a single field (that is if we are to credit the epic writers): after such disasters, I think that if Priam had himself been Helen's lover he would have surrendered her to the Greeks, to escape these pressing troubles. Nor was it that the kingdom was to come to Alexander, and so the management of matters during his father's dotage rested mainly with him: Hector was an older and a far braver man, and would have received the crown upon his father's death. It was never Hector's will to abet his brother in such a crime, and that too when terrible calamities were coming for it upon his own house and upon all the Trojans. The truth is, that they had no Helen to surrender, and that the Greeks disbelieved them while they spoke the truth; the doity, if I am to declare my judgment, preparing a way by their utter destruction, to show clearly before all men that Heaven

will ever send a dreadful punishment upon a dreadful crime. I speak upon this matter as my own feelings dictate.

121. Next after Proteus, Rhampsinitus, they told me, succeeded to the kingdom. The memorials left by him are the western gateway of the temple of Hephestus, and two statues facing it, twenty-five cubits in height; whereof the Egyptians call the northernmost Summer and the southernmost Winter. The first they pay sacrifice to and reverence, but they treat the second or winter in a manner quite the reverse.

This monarch had amassed a vast quantity of treasure in silver, unsurpassed and even unapproached by any of his successors; and, desirous of storing it in a place of safety, he had a treasure-house built of stone. One side of this was upon the wall of the palace, and the architect, having a design in view, contrived during its construction to insert a particular stone, duly prepared in such manner that it could be easily removed from the wall by two men, or even one. The chamber being completed, the king stored away his treasure in it. In course of time the builder lay at the point of death, and called his sons (he had two) to his side and disclosed to them how in his forethought for their prosperity and pleasant life he had introduced this contrivance while erecting the treasure-house. He then clearly explained the method of removing the stone, giving them measurements; and saying that while they kept these secrets they might be the keepers of the king's treasury. So he died, nor did his sons tarry long before setting to work: they entered the palace by night, found the stone upon the face of the chamber, easily removed it, and plundered a goodly sum from the silver treasure.

When the king chanced next to open the chamber he was amazed to see the chests empty and the money gone; yet he knew not whom to accuse, the seals being unbroken and the chamber fast shut. Twice and thrice he re-opened the chamber, and each time found his treasure lessened (for the robbers had continued their

forays), whereupon he did thus. He ordered traps to be constructed, and set these about the chests which contained the silver. The thieves came as heretofore, and one of them entered, but as soon as ever he came near the chests, he was caught in the trap. Seeing his dismal plight, he called directly to his brother, telling him what was befallen, and bidding him enter and strike off his head without delay, lest, being discovered and recognised, he might be the destruction of his brother also. The other thief thought what he said was right, and consented to comply with it; which he did, and then replacing the stone, went homewards, taking with him his brother's head.

When day came, the king entered, and was bewildered at the spectacle he beheld. The body of the robber was in the trap without a head, but the chamber was uninjured, with no appearance of exit or entrance in any part. Being utterly at a loss, he commanded the corpse of the robber to be hung up outside the palace wall, and placed sentinels about it, charging them to seize and bring before him any one whom they should notice weeping or bemoaning near the body. While it was thus suspended, the mother of the dead thief took it much to heart, and spoke to her surviving son, straightly bidding him discover some plan to take down and remove his brother's remains. If he should be sluggish in it, she threatened to go before the king and expose him as the person possessing the stolen money.

The mother was urgently implored by her surviving son; but when all that he could say failed to move her, he set his wits to work accordingly, and thus he did. Making ready some asses, he loaded them with skins full of wine, and set out, driving them before him. As soon as he was at the spot where the guards were watching the corpse, he loosed two or three of the strings at the mouths of the skins. The wine burst forth, and he began to cry bitterly and beat his head, like one who hardly knew to which at first to turn himself. The guards, seeing the wine pouring out,

came running into the street with vessels to catch the liquor, thinking it a capital chance—while the ass-driver pretended vehement rage with all, until they began to pacify him, when he made a show at last of calming down, and getting into good humour. At last, driving his asses aside out of the street, he began to fasten up the skins, and a great deal of chattering took place, one of the guards making merry with him and getting him to laugh, until at last he made over to them one of the wine-skins. Thereupon they determined upon a drinking-bout just where they were, and insisted upon his joining and sitting down along with them to drink of the skin. He let himself be persuaded, and sat down; presently, as they grew very friendly together over their cups, he gave them another wine-skin, which the guards indulged in so freely that they became dead drunk, and then and there, overcome by drowsiness, settled themselves to slumber. When the night was far advanced, the thief took down the body of his brother, and afterwards, in derision of the guards, shaved off all their right whiskers; then placing the body upon the asses, he drove them away homo, thus accomplishing the hard task insisted on by his mother.

The king, when news was brought him that the corpse of the thief had been carried off, was deeply enraged; but being resolved at all hazards to discover who was at the bottom of all this, he adopted an expedient which I cannot believe. He bade his own daughter sit as a harlot to receive all comers, but charged her, before admitting them, to insist upon their reciting to her that passage of their life which had been most notable for cunning and wickedness, and whoever should instance the circumstances attending this theft, to seize him and on no account to let him go. Upon the daughter's compliance with the mandates of her father, the thief heard of it, and felt a desire to outdo even the monarch in stratagem. He therefore cut off the arm of a newly dead person at the shoulder, and, taking it under his cloak, went in to the princess. Being

questioned by her like the others, he answered that the wickedest thing he ever did was to cut off his brother's head when he was caught in a trap in the king's treasure house, and the cunningest was when he made the king's guards drunk, and took down the dead body of his brother. No sooner did she hear this, than she would have laid hold on him, but the robber reached out to her the arm of the dead man, which she in the darkness seized and held, imagining it to be his hand, and then the robber, letting go, escaped and fled by the door.

And when this too was told to the king, he was thunderstruck at the ready wit and daring of the man; and, as a last resource, sent to proclaim in all cities that he would grant him great gifts and a pardon if he would come before him. The thief trusted the king's word and came, and Rhampsinitus, greatly marvelling at his story, gave him his daughter in marriage, as to the most cunning of men; for the Egyptians, he protested, were excellent herein above all the world, but this man above all the Egyptians.

122. They told me afterwards that this monarch descended alive into that lower region which the Greeks call Hades, and there sat at dice with Demeter, sometimes winning from her, sometimes defeated in the game. He came back, too, and brought with him a gift from the goddess in the shape of a napkin woven of gold. Ever since this descent of Rhampsinitus and subsequent return, the Egyptians, they told me, have established a commemorative feast; and certainly I know that in my time even they still celebrated it, but whether this was the origin of the festival, or something else, I cannot say. On the day of the ceremony, the priests begin and finish the weaving of a mantle, and bind the eyes of one of their order with a fillet, and putting upon him the mantle, and so conducting him into the road which leads to Demeter's temple. There they leave him and retire, and the priest with his eyes thus fast bound is brought, they say, by two wolves to the temple of Demeter, twenty stades out of the city;

and the same wolves bring him back again to the spot where he was joined by them.

123. Whoever deems these Egyptian legends credible must have them so : so far as I am concerned, the basis of all my history is to relate what I hear told by each and all. The Egyptians hold that Demeter and Dionysus are the rulers of the lower regions ; they too were the first to assert this doctrine, that the soul of man is immortal. When the body dies it enters, they say, into some other creature born at that instant, and after tenancing in turn all creatures of the land and sea and sky, it enters again a human body prepared for it. The cycle of its existences is completed in three thousand years. There be Greek writers, ancient and modern, who have adopted this doctrine, and claimed it as their own, whose names I know, but shall not mention.

124. Until the close of King Rhampsinitus' reign, they told me there were good laws in Egypt, and the country prospered greatly ; but after him Cheops succeeded, and gave himself over to all imaginable wickedness. First, he shut up all the temples, and prohibited any sacrifices ; and afterwards, he compelled all the Egyptians to labour in his service. Some of them were set apart to drag blocks of stone from the quarries in the Arabian hills down as far as the Nile, and to transport them across the river in barges ; while others had to receive them on the other side, and bring them on to the chain of the Libyan hills. They worked in bodies of ten myriads, and were relieved every three months. Ten years were spent in grinding the people, while they constructed the paved way whereby they drew the blocks,—a work in itself not greatly inferior to that of the pyramid, as I think, for its length is five stades, its breadth ten fathoms, and its greatest height eight fathoms. It is all raised of polished stone, and is carved over with animals, and ten years were expended in building this, together with the works on the crest where the pyramids are, the chambers underground which he con-

structed for his own vault making an island of the spot by a canal from the Nile. In the construction of the pyramid itself twenty years were taken up: its form is a square, each face of which is eight hundred feet in length, its height being the same. It is built of polished stones, exquisitely fitted together, and not one of these stones measures less than thirty feet in length.

125. The pyramid itself is of this construction. It rises in stages after the fashion of stairs, or, as some would say, of altars; and when they had thus built it, they raised the remaining blocks to their places by machines composed of short beams of wood. The stone was raised by these from the ground to the first stage, and on reaching this it was lowered into a second machine fixed upon the first stage, by which it passed to the next stage, to be received by a third machine. Thus there were as many machines as stages, or it may have been that they used one handy machine only, and transferred it from stage to stage, wherever they would lift the stone. Both accounts are given, and we are therefore bound to repeat them. The upper portions, consequently, were finished off first, and afterwards they completed those next succeeding, last of all the ground story and the work at the base. We are told by an Egyptian inscription upon the pyramid what amount was expended on radishes, onions, and garlic to feed the labourers, and I very well remember that my interpreter, in reading it out, named sixteen hundred talents of silver as the price paid for them. If this were so, how much more must have been spent upon the iron for their implements, and the maintenance and clothing of the labourers, especially when, beside the time passed in erecting the work I have described, they must have consumed another space, and no small one I fancy, in quarrying and transporting the rock, and in excavating the underground chambers?

126. To such a depth of infamy sank Oheops, that, lacking money, he compelled his own daughter to sit for hire, and in this way to amass for him a sum, the

amount of which I did not learn. They relate that she raised the required sum, but that, determining to leave a monument on her own account, she exacted besides a stone from each of her gallants, as a contribution to the contemplated building. From the stones so collected, they aver that she raised that pyramid which stands midmost of the three in front of the great pyramid, measuring on each face a hundred and fifty feet.

127. King Cheops reigned, say the Egyptians, fifty years, and upon his death Cephrenes his brother succeeded to the sovereignty. His reign was in all respects like the preceding, as well in other matters as in the construction of a pyramid, not however attaining to the dimensions of his brother's. I know this, because I measured them, and besides there are no chambers underground, neither is a canal led to it from the Nile, like that which flows round about the other. In that, the water comes in through a passage of masonry, and flows round an artificial island, wherein, they say, lies the body of Cheops. Cephrenes built the lower part of his pyramid of veined stones from Ethiopia, making it forty feet short of the height of the other, and placing it as close as possible to the great one; both stand on the crest of a hill some hundred feet high. This king reigned, they say, fifty-six years.

128. Thus are made up a hundred and six years, during which all possible oppression befel the Egyptians; and all this time the temples were shut, and never opened. Out of their hate for them, the Egyptians will hardly name these monarchs, and call the pyramids after a shepherd named Philiton, who fed his flocks about these parts during these events.

129. The next king of Egypt, they told me, after Cheops, was Mycerinus his son. The deeds of his father were distasteful to him, and he accordingly threw open the temples, and set the miserably oppressed people at liberty to pursue their labours and pay their sacrifices. He judged too the most righteous judgments of all the kings of Egypt; and for this cause, the Egyptians

praise him more than all the monarchs who had gone before him. Not only did he give just decisions, but if any man had ground of complaint against his sentence, he would content him, and make recompense from his own store. Gentle as was King Mycerinus to his people, and constant in justice, his misfortunes commenced in the death of his daughter, the only child he had, and the ornament of his palace. In his bitter grief at the loss that so befel him, he determined to give his daughter more than an ordinary burial. He therefore had an image of a cow constructed of wood, and made hollow; the outside he overlaid with plates of gold, and within it he laid the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth, but deposited in a fair chamber of the royal palace at Sais, where even to my day it continued visible. The attendants burn fragrant spices of all kinds before it in the day-time, and at night a lamp is kept constantly kindled. Near this figure of the cow, but in a separate apartment, stand statues of the concubines of Mycerinus, —at least the priests declared them to be such. They are images of wood, larger than life, in number about twenty, and represented naked: as to who they may be, I can say no more than what was related to me.

131.

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[An indelicate legend, at variance with the character of King Mycerinus, and not credited by the Historian, is omitted here.]

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132. All but the head and neck of the cow is covered with a crimson mantle: these portions are visible, overlaid with very thick plates of gold. Between its horns is placed a globe of gold, representing the Sun; the figure itself is not standing, but reclining upon its knees, and in size it is as big as a full-grown cow. They take it out from the palace once every year, at that season when the Egyptians beat themselves in honour of a god, whose name I must not mention in such connection. On that occasion they carry it out into the sun-light,

for they tell you that when she was a-dying she entreated her father Mycerinus to let her see the sun-light once in every year.

133. After the affliction of his daughter's death, a second calamity befel the king. A message from the oracle in Bâto came to him, saying, "Thou shalt live six more years only of life, and in the seventh year thou shalt die." The king was deeply grieved thereat, and sent back an indignant answer to the god of the oracle, reproaching him in these words: "My sire and mine uncle shut up the temples, and forgot the gods; they destroyed their people also, and lived many days: and I who have lived uprightly am to die thus speedily!" A second message came from the oracle: "For thy righteousness' sake is thy life's end hastened; thou hast not done that which thou oughtest to have done. It was fated that Egypt should be afflicted for seven score years and ten, and this knew the kings that were before thee, but thou knewest it not." When Mycerinus heard this, considering that his sentence was pronounced, he made him ready lamps, and when night came, he had them kindled, and eat and made merry, desisting not either by night or day; and sometimes betook himself to the marsh country, sometimes to the forests, and wheresoever there were pleasant places, and fit resorts. And thus he did, hoping to cheat the oracle by turning the nights into days, and making the six years twelve.

134. This ruler left also a pyramid, but one much inferior in size to his father's: it is square of form, and lacks along each face twenty feet of two hundred and eighty, being built until half-way up of the marble of Ethiopia. Certain Greeks allege, but without truth, that this pyramid belongs to Rhodôpis the harlot. They do not seem to me to know clearly who Rhodôpis was, else would they never have ascribed to her the erection of a pyramid, whereon uncounted talents of silver, if I may say so, must have been expended. Besides again, Rhodôpis flourished in the reign of King Amasis,

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not in this reign; being very many years later than the monarch who left the world these pyramids. Rhodôpis was of Thracian birth—the slave of Jadmon the Samian, son of Hephestopolis, and fellow-slave with Æsop the fable-writer. That Æsop was a slave of Jadmon is clear from this fact as much as any: when proclamation had been many times made by the Delphians, in accordance with the oracles, for the appearance of “whoso would claim the penalty paid for the murder of Æsop,” a younger Jadmon, son of the first of that name, came forward, and received it, no one else presenting himself; thus then it is established that Æsop belonged to Jadmon.

135. Rhodôpis came to Egypt under the protection of Xanthus the Samian. Brought to pursue her trade, she was set free for an enormous sum of money by a man of Mitylene, named Charaxus, a son of Seamandrônymus, and brother to the poetess, Sappho. Thus made her own mistress, Rhodôpis remained in Egypt, and being surpassingly beautiful, amassed great wealth—great wealth, that is to say, for Rhodôpis the harlot, but nothing sufficient to compass the building of a pyramid. While any one may at any time go and see to what the tenth part of her riches amounted, there can be no reason to attribute to her immense wealth. For Rhodôpis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, and to make it such as no one else should have hit on as an offering at any shrine, and to present it to the Delphian temple. She accordingly had a number of iron spits made, such whereon whole oxen may be roasted;—she expended upon these a tenth part of her property, and sent as many as could be so made to Delphi. They lie in a heap there still behind the altar which the Chians dedicated, and opposite to the shrine itself. At Naucratis, they seem to have had many beautiful women of the trade of Rhodôpis, and she herself, whose history has been given, became so famous for her loveliness, that all Greece had learned her name; and another who came after her, called Archidice, was the burden of many a

song in Greece, but not quite so much spoken of as her fellow. Sappho has an ode wherein she reproaches Charaxus, on returning to Mitylene, after he had freed Rhodôpis;—but enough of her and hers.

136. After Mycerinus, Asychis became king of Egypt, as the priests informed me. He built the eastern portico of the temple of Hephæstus, by very much the most splendid and the largest. All the porticoes have figures carved upon them, and a thousand other architectural adornments, but those of King Asychis are far the most magnificent. During this reign, they told me, there being very little money in circulation, a law was enacted that a man might raise money for his need upon security of his father's dead body; and there was a provision in this law that the lender should have control of the family sepulchre of the borrower: and this penalty was denounced against the man who gave such security, and would not afterwards pay the debt;—upon his death he was to have no burial, either in the ancestral vault or in any other, and during his life he was prohibited from interring any of his relations.

Desiring to outdo all his predecessors on the throne of Egypt, this king, they said, left as his monument a pyramid built of bricks. Upon it there are letters graven in stone to this effect: "Think not little of me in regard to the pyramids of stone. I am greater than all they, as Zeus is greater than all the gods. They plunged a pole down into the lake, and scraping off the mud that came up with it, they made bricks thereof, and of these they reared me." Such were the chief achievements of this king.

137. He was succeeded by a blind king called Anysis, a native of the town so named. During his rule the Ethiopians, under their monarch Sabacôs, invaded Egypt with a mighty hand, and the blind Egyptian king fled away to the marshes. The Ethiopian invader ruled over Egypt for fifty years, during which his remarkable acts were as follows:—Whenever an Egyptian committed an offence, he would not put

him to death, whoever he was ; but adjudged him, in proportion to his crime, to raise an embankment of such and such extent at the city wherein he resided. By this means, all the cities came to stand on very high ground, for they had been first embanked by those who dug the canals in the days of Sesostris, and a second time under the Ethiopian, becoming thus much elevated. A great many other cities in Egypt were thus raised, but Bubastis as I think more than any, a city which contains a temple to Bubastis the goddess, well deserving mention. Others may be greater, and more costly, but in pleasing effect none is superior to this. Bubastis, in the Greek tongue, is Artemis.

138. The temple is thus constructed :—But for the road to the entrance its site would be an island, for canals are dug about it from the Nile, which do not meet, but run flanking the temple up to each side of the approach. These canals are a hundred feet wide, and overshadowed with trees. The gates are sixty feet high, and adorned with carved figures, all deserving description. Standing as it does in the centre of the city, all the temple at once is seen below you as you go about it ; for the city has been raised by embankments, while the temple is still viewed exactly as it was built. A wall covered with sculpture surrounds the edifice, and within this is a grove of very large trees, in the heart of which is the shrine, and inside this the image. This enclosure is a furlong each way, and on the side for entrance the road is paved with stone to a distance of three furlongs, and passes through the market-place to the eastward. The breadth of the road is three hundred and seventy feet, and here and there along it grow trees, of heaven-reaching foliage : it leads you to the temple of *Hermes*, from that which I have described.

139. The closing scene of the Ethiopian's flight, said the priests, was in this wise. He saw a vision in his sleep, which caused his instant departure : a man stood by him, and counselled him to call together all the priests in Egypt, and to cut them in two. Upon this

he said that the gods were seeking, he thought, for a sufficient reason, such as impiety against the temples, to bring a heavy calamity upon him at the hands of heaven or men. He would do no such thing, he said; but rather conclude that the destined period for his sovereignty over Egypt had run out. While he was yet in Ethiopia, the oracles, which the people of that land consult, had warned him that he was to rule over Egypt for fifty years; and now that the time was accomplished, and the vision of the dream had come to terrify him, Sabach's withdrew with no reluctance from the land of Egypt.

140. Upon the departure of the Ethiopian conqueror, the blind king again ascended the throne. He came back to his palace from the marshes, where he had contrived to live out the fifty years by constructing an island in them of ashes and earth. The Egyptians went frequently there to take him food, and whenever any came, he charged them to bring ashes another time besides his gift. The position of this island could never be discovered before the time of Amyrtoeus—for seven hundred years, and even more, the kings of Egypt who preceded him were unable to find it out. The name given to this island was Elbo, and its dimensions each way about ten stades.

141. After Anysis, a priest of Hephaestus became king, by name Sethon. This monarch treated the warrior-caste with much indignity, as though he were independent of their aid. Beside many other marks of disgrace, he took from them the chosen fields with which in former reigns they had been gifted, twelve to each man. Accordingly, when Sannacharib, king of the Arabians and Egyptians, marched with his vast army upon Egypt, the warrior-caste among the Egyptians refused to fight for him; whereat the priest, reduced to this strait, entered into the shrine, and bewailed before his idol the calamities that threatened him. His lament was interrupted by a vision, wherein he seemed to see the god standing by him, and cheering him with the

assurance that he should suffer no hurt in going out against the Arabian host, for that he, the god, would provide him with defenders. Relying on the promise of his dream, he collected such of the Egyptians as would follow him, and pitched his camp in Pelusium, for thereabouts is the approach to Egypt. Not a man of the warrior-caste attended him there, but a crowd of sutlers, artisans, and market-people. No sooner were the hosts met, than there came by night upon the invaders a swarm of field-mice, who eat up their quivers and bow-strings, and even the handles of their shields; so that the next day they fled for lack of arms, and many of them perished. And ever since there stands a stone statue of this king in the temple of Hephæstus, holding in one hand a mouse, and bearing the inscription—"Whoso looketh on me, let him learn reverence for the gods."

142. Thus far onward in my history have I spoken as the Egyptians and their priests related to me. They declare that from the first king to him who was the priest of Hephæstus and reigned last, there were three hundred and forty-one generations; at any rate that that number of kings and arch-priests had been and gone. Three hundred generations of men are equal to ten thousand years, for a hundred years are three generations; and for the forty-one generations over and above the three hundred, these are equal to one thousand three hundred and forty years. It is therefore eleven thousand three hundred and forty years since any god has appeared in human shape; no such thing, avowed they, had occurred either under the earlier or the later Egyptian kings. Within this period, however, the sun, they said, had on four occasions deviated from his wonted course, twice rising where he should set, and twice setting where he should rise. They told me that no change was visible, over Egypt under such circumstances; the productions of the land, the influences of the river, the phenomena of diseases, and the amount of mortality, remaining the same.

143. Long ago, when Hecataeus the chronicler was at Thebes, and fell to a discourse upon his descent, wherein he traced his ancestry to a god, sixteen generations before him, the priests dealt with him as with me, although I indeed made no such boast of birth. They conducted me to an inner sanctuary of great size, and showed me an array of colossal figures in wood, counting them up to prove their number what they had said; the figures being those of arch-priests, each of whom erects here during his life-time a statue of himself. The priests made me a careful numeration of them all, pointing out each son of each father, from him who was but just deceased till the completion of the series. Thus, when Hecataeus asserted his genealogy, and traced himself to a god in the sixteenth succession, the priests met him with this computation, refusing to concede to him that a man could spring from a god. They opposed it upon this ground,—that of all these colossal effigies, each was a piromis succeeding a piromis,—that the number of the series was as great as three hundred and forty-five,—and yet that it ran back neither to a god nor even to a hero. Piromis may be rendered “a well-born and worthy man.”

144. Those, therefore, of whom these were the effigies, they declared to be like as other men, and far removed from the nature of gods. Before their time, however, they allowed that gods held rule in Egypt, and lived familiarly with men. One of these was from time to time supreme, and the last god-king was Ilorus the son of Osiris, whom the Greeks call Apollo;—he ruled over Egypt after having deposed Typhon. Osiris in the Greek tongue is Dionysus.

145. Among the Greeks, Hercules, Diönysus, and Pan are looked upon as the latest-born of the gods; but with the Egyptians, on the contrary, the god Pan is one of the very eldest, ranking among “The Eight” who were before all gods. Hercules is numbered among those called “The Twelve,” who came after them; while Dionysus is of the third order of gods, who sprang from

"The Twelve." I have before made known how many years elapsed by Egyptian calculations between the birth of Hercules and the accession of Amasis: they attribute a still greater antiquity than this to Pan, and to Dionysus a less remote origin than either; but even to his epoch from that of King Amasis they reckon fifteen thousand years. In these computations the Egyptians profess themselves certain, having carefully preserved throughout the register, and duly written off each succeeding year. From the Greek Dionysus, who was born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, until my day, is at most sixteen hundred years; from Hercules to the same date, about nine hundred; while from Pan, the offspring of Penelope (whose son by Hermes the Greeks report him), is a shorter period than to the Trojan war, and not exceeding some eight hundred years.

146. Of these two chronologies, each will adopt that in which he has most confidence; my own view upon the matter has been declared. If these deities had been before well known, and established of old in the land of Greece, as Hercules, the son of Amphitryon is at this day, and Dionysus the son of Semele, and Pan the son of Penelope, one might maintain that these last had been men who assumed the titles of gods previously existent. But the Greeks will tell you of Dionysus, that immediately upon his birth Zeus hid him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa, which is south of Egypt, in Ethiopia; and as to Pan, they have no account to give whither he betook him at his birth. It is, therefore, clear to me that the Greeks acquired the names of these gods later than those of their other deities, and that they date their birth from the day whereon they first learned their existence. This solution is that also which the Egyptians give.

147. I shall take occasion to mention here those points relating to the history of the country; wherein the Egyptian account has the support of other authorities. I shall add also something from my own observation. Upon regaining their liberty after the rule of

the priest of Hephestus, the Egyptians, who could never bear to live without a king, set up twelve, dividing Egypt for them into twelve divisions. These monarchs intermarried with each other, and reigned on the understanding that none should compass the destruction of the other, or desire a larger share than the rest, but live in all possible amity. They had a reason for instituting these laws and guarding them jealously, in an oracular message which had reached them upon their joint accession. The message declared that "Whoever of their number should make libation with a brazen bowl in the temple of Hephestus, that man would be lord of all Egypt." Their custom was to meet together at all the temples.

148. It seemed good to them to leave a common memorial of their sway, and they constructed accordingly the Labyrinth in a spot a little above lake Meris, and nearabouts to the city of crocodiles. I have seen this now with my own eyes, and can warrant it above description, for if one should reckon together the fortresses and fine buildings in all Greece, they would seem to him works of less labour and lavish expense than this labyrinth. I know the temple at Ephesus is a noteworthy edifice, so too is that of Samos; the pyramids also were erections that defied my description of them, and might singly challenge many of the grandest works of Greece; but the labyrinth surpasses the pyramids. There are twelve halls in it, all roofed, and with gateways fronting each other, six in a line on the north side, and six on the south, and an outer wall encircles them. The apartments are of two kinds,—those below ground and those above and over them; their number is three thousand, being fifteen hundred of each. I saw and traversed the upper apartments, and speak of them from actual inspection: of those underground I speak by report, for the Egyptian attendants would on no account consent to show them, declaring that they contained the sepulchres of the kings who built the labyrinth, and those also of the sacred crocodiles. It

is therefore from hearsay that I speak of these underground chambers ; the upper range I have actually seen, and declare them more stupendous than all other human achievements. It excited in me an infinite wonder to pass through the outlets of the chambers and the winding avenues, from court to court, all decked in the most brilliant colours ; to follow from the outer halls into the inner apartments, from apartments to colonnades, from colonnades to fresh apartments, and from these into new halls. All is alike roofed, with the same stone as that employed for the walls, and all the walls are covered with carvings of animals : round each court runs a corridor built of white marble, exquisitely fitted and polished. Each terminating angle of the labyrinth has a pyramid of two hundred and forty feet, bearing enormous engravings of living creatures, the approach to it being underground.

149. Yet, such as is the labyrinth, a greater marvel still is exhibited in the lake Mæris, upon whose banks the labyrinth is erected. The perimeter of this body of water is sixty schoenes, or three thousand six hundred stades, being an extent equal to the sea-front of Egypt. Its greatest length is from north to south, and its greatest depth is fifty fathoms. It contains its own proof of having been the work of man's hand and excavated, for two pyramids stand as nearly as possible in its centre, each rising to a height of fifty fathoms above the water, as much being also concealed by it. There is a colossal figure surmounting each, sitting upon a throne. The pyramids are thus a hundred fathoms high, and a hundred fathoms are exactly a stado of six hundred feet, the fathom being six feet in length or four cubits, a foot measuring four palms, and a cubit six. The water filling the lake is by no means spontaneous, for the country hereabouts is dismally dry : it is introduced by channels from the Nile, and six months it flows into the lake, and six months back into the river again. In running outwards, the lake brings a talent of silver a day to the royal treasury, from

the fish caught at its outlet, and, in receiving the river-water, twenty minæ.

150. The people on the spot assured me that the lake had an underground outlet into the Iabyan Syrtis, running west and inland alongside the hills above Memphis. Observing nowhere the excavated earth from this work (and I made a point of looking narrowly), I inquired from those who lived nearest to the lake where the earth had been deposited. They informed me that it was all carried away; and I the more readily believed them, as I knew a story of Nineveh of the Assyrians, where the same thing was done. The tale is that Sardanapalus, the king of Nineveh, having vast riches laid up in underground vaults, certain thieves set their minds upon carrying it off. They commenced accordingly to tunnel from their own houses, digging by calculation so as to come under the royal palaces. All the earth which came from the excavation was carried away when night came, and thrown into the Tigris, which runs by Nineveh; and this continued till they had accomplished their object. Exactly such a plan, I understood, had been followed with the earth from the Egyptian lake, except that it was by day, and not by night, that they thus threw into the Nile the rubbish they had excavated: the river, they knew, would take it up and distribute it far and wide. So much for the account given me of the formation of the lake.

151. The twelve kings observed all good faith towards each other, until in course of time it fell out that they were sacrificing in the temple of Hephestus. It was the last day of the festival, and the high priest, in bringing the golden bowls wherewith they made libations, mistook the number, and produced eleven only for the twelve monarchs. He that stood last of them was Psammitichus, and being thus without a bowl, he snatched off his brazen helmet from his head, and received therein the wine, and with it made the libation. All the other kings had helmets of brass, and wore them at

that very occasion—nor was it with any unfaithful intent that Psammitichus thus employed his own. The eleven princes, upon comprehending this act, and recalling the oracular message, which said—"Whoever shall make libation with a brazen bowl, that man shall be sole monarch of Egypt,"—bethinking them of this prediction I say, they were still unwilling to slay Psammitichus, since they discovered by close inquiry that what he had done was by no contrivance aforethought. They determined, instead, to strip him of all possible authority, and banish him to the marshes, warning him never to leave them, nor to hold intercourse with any other district of Egypt.

152. This very Psammitichus had before been compelled to fly from Egypt to escape from Sabacüs, the Ethiopian, who slew his father Necho. He had found refuge then in Syria, and, upon the retirement of the Ethiopian after the warning of his dream, the Egyptians of the Saitic nome had caused his return. And now, after exercising regal power, fortune again, by means of his brazen helmet and his eleven brother-kings, was inflicting upon him a second exile—this time to the marshes. Convinced accordingly that he was ill-treated, he set his heart upon the punishment of his injurers, and sent to Latona's oracle in the city of Bâto, an oracle more to be relied on than any in Egypt. The response which reached him was this: "Vengeance will come from seaward, when men of brass shall appear." Great was his want of faith in the promise that men of brass would come and aid him; but before long, certain pirates from Ionia and Caria were caught upon a plundering expedition by a storm, and carried down to Egypt. They landed dressed in a complete suit of brass mail, and were seen by an Egyptian, who hurried off to the marshes, astonished at the strange sight, to announce to Psammitichus that there were some men of brass come from the sea to ravage the plains. At once perceiving the accomplishment of the oracle, he hastened to conclude a friendship with the foreigners, and persuaded

them by great promises to take part with him. Upon their consent, he set forth with them, and such of the Egyptians as had declared for him, and by means of these allies he completely overthrew the eleven kings.

153. Psammitichus thus became the lord of all Egypt. His first act was to build the northern gateway of the temple of Hephrestus at Memphis, and a court for the reception of the bull Apis upon first appearing, which court he erected over against the gateway, surrounding it with a colonnade, carved all over with figures. The colonnade is supported by statues twelve cubits high, in place of pillars: the Greek name for Apis, to whom it is dedicated, is Epaphus.

154. Psammitichus gave also to his Ionians and other allies certain tracts of country for their settlement, situated on opposite shores of the Nile, which received the name of "The Lines." In this respect and all else he fully performed his promises to them, and moreover put into their hands certain Egypt-born boys, to learn from them the Greek language: the present race of interpreters in Egypt are sprung from those who thus acquired the tongue. The Ionians and Carians occupied these districts for a very long time; the position of them is by the sea, a little below Bubastis city, on the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. It was King Amasis who long afterwards called them away, and settled them in Memphis, to act there as his body-guard against the Egyptians. Upon the firm establishment of these foreigners in Egypt, the Greeks began to mingle freely with the people of that country, and it is accordingly from the date of Psammitichus that we of Greece begin and continue to know of a surety the events of Egyptian history; for these men were the first who, speaking another tongue, were allowed to settle in Egypt. The districts from which they removed still contained, at my visit, the docks built for their ships, and the ruins of their houses. Such is the method by which Psammitichus obtained Egypt.

155. I have often had to speak of the oracle in

Egypt, and I purpose to give an account of it, as well deserving notice. The seat of the Egyptian oracle is the temple of Latona, erected in a large city, upon that mouth of the Nile called the Sebennytic, at some distance from the sea. The name of the city wherein the oracle is established is Bâto—a name I have before given; and in the same place there are two other temples, in honour of Apollo and Artemis. The temple of Latona, which contains the oracle, is itself remarkable for size, and has gateways of sixty feet in height. But the most wonderful of all the sights exhibited there is what I will describe. Inside the sacred enclosure stands a shrine dedicated to Latona, made, so far as height and length go, of a single stone, the walls being of equal dimensions, and each forty cubits square. The covering for the roof is another large stone laid over, with a projecting cornice of four cubits!

156. Of what was actually to be seen in walking round the temple, this I say was most wonderful; among the wonders not so included is the island of Chemmis, which lies in a broad and deep lake close alongside the temple. The Egyptians declare that this island floats: I did not myself see it floating, or even in motion, and I marvelled, on hearing their assertion, whether there exists anywhere an island which floats. There is built upon it a spacious temple to Apollo, within which are three different altars. Tall palms grow upon it, with divers kinds of trees, both fruit-bearing and otherwise, and the Egyptians have a legend by which they explain how it came to float. Latona, one of the eight elder deities, lived formerly in Bâto, and upon this island, which did not at that time float; and here, where the oracle now stands, she received Apollo from Isis as a precious charge, whom she preserved by concealment in the floating island. Typhon at that time was seeking everywhere to find the son of Osiris, and had arrived here in his search. (The Egyptians hold Apollo and Artemis to be the offspring of Dionysus and Isis, and Latona their nurse and preserver. In the Egyptian

language Apollo is Horus, Demeter is Isis, and Artemis is Bubastis; and from this consideration and no other did Æschylus, son of Euphorion, seize upon an idea found in no poet before him, namely that of making Artemis the daughter of Demeter.) The island, to further this concealment, was made to float. Such at least is the account they give.

157. Psammitichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years, for thirty years save one of which he closely besieged Azotus, a great city of Syria, till at the last he took it. This same city, of all the beleaguered cities whose names I know, held out for the longest space of time.

158. The son of Psammitichus was called Nekôs, and succeeded to the crown of Egypt. He first took in hand the canal to the Red Sea, which Marius the Persian after his time completed. The length of it is a four days' sail, and the width of the excavation sufficient for the passage of two triremes together, with their oars. It is filled with water from the Nile, which is supplied a little below the city of Bubastis, close by the Arabian town Patônus. Its termination is in the Red Sea, and it is carried for the first part of its course along the Arabian side of the great Egyptian plain. The chain of hills opposite Memphis which contain the stone-quarries skirt this plain to the south, and the canal runs along the foot of this chain in the general direction of from west to east, and then makes away for the gorges, leaving the mountains with a southern course until it reaches the Arabian Gulf. The briefest and speediest way to cross from the Northern Sea to that called the Red Sea is to start from mount Casius, which divides Egypt from Syria, from which point to the Arabian Gulf is exactly a thousand stades. This is the shortest road; that by the canal is much longer, as it turns and winds. Of those employed in its excavation under King Nekôs twelve myriads perished at their labour, and Nekôs desisted from the work when but half completed, being discouraged by an oracle, which warned him that "he was but working for the advantage of the barbarians."

The Egyptians call all men barbarians who do not speak the same language as themselves.

159. Nekôs discontinued the canal to betake himself to ~~like~~ like expeditions, and he had triremes built at the ports of the Northern and Arabian seas, the docks for which may even yet be seen. He employed his fleets wherever he had need, but he attacked the Syrians by land as well as by sea, and gave them battle with success at Magdolus, capturing after the victory their chief city, Cadytis. The dress in which he achieved these triumphs was sent by him to Branchidæ of the Milesians, as an offering to Apollo. After a reign of sixteen years in all, he died, naming as his successor in the sovereignty his son Psammis.

160. It was during the reign of King Psammis that ambassadors arrived in Egypt from Elis, who made boast that the Olympian games were the fairest and the wisest contests instituted among men, and doubted if the Egyptians, who were the sagest of men, had any institution to match with them. On reaching the Egyptian court, the Elean embassy declared their desire to satisfy themselves on this point, and the king accordingly summoned all the wisest of his Egyptians to meet them. The assembly listened to all that the men of Elis had to tell about the regulations of the contest, who, upon concluding their recitation, desired to know if the Egyptians could in any respect improve upon the perfect equity of their rules. After much consultation, the Egyptians inquired of the Eleans whether their own citizens were admitted to the contest. The reply was, that Greeks of each and every state had equal liberty, upon desire, to enter the lists. To this the Egyptians made answer: "If that be the decree, you have plainly missed the attainment of perfect justice, for there is no way to keep men from favouring a fellow-citizen in the contest, and dealing unfairly with a stranger. If you aspire to complete fairness, and if that be the object of your visit here, take our advice, and throw open your games to men of all other cities, and allow no Elean to

engage in them." Such was the substance of the counsel the Egyptians gave the ambassadors.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt only six years, dying immediately after an expedition which he made into Ethiopia. His son Apries succeeded him, and enjoyed for twenty-five years a more prosperous reign than any of the kings that were before him, except his grandfather Psammitichus. In the course of it, he marched with an army upon Sidon, and fought a sea-fight with the king of Tyre. But the time came for his reverses, which arose upon an occurrence that I shall relate at length in my Libyan history, and but briefly mention here. Apries had despatched an army against the people of Cyrene, which met with a terrible disaster, and the Egyptians directly rose against him, blaming him for the catastrophe, which they imagined had been concerted by him. They declared that he had sent his soldiers to evident destruction, in order that, when they had been cut off, he himself might reign more securely over a weakened people. Indignant at the alleged treachery, the soldiers who had escaped, and the friends of those who had fallen, rose together in instant mutiny.

162. When Apries heard of the revolt, he sent Amasis to the rebels, to calm them by persuasive words. Upon arrival, he at once attempted to restrain the Egyptian soldiery, warning them against their course of conduct; but while he was yet speaking, a soldier came behind him, and, clapping a helmet upon his head, cried "I crown thee for king." That the act was not altogether displeasing to Amasis, he quickly showed, for as soon as the insurgents had absolutely declared him king, he prepared to march and attack Apries. When the king heard of this, he sent a man of great repute among his ministers, Patarbêmis by name, to meet Amasis, with orders to bring him alive into the presence. Patarbêmis reached the rebel camp, and summoned Amasis to accompany him; Amasis, who was upon horseback, rose in his stirrups, and with a coarse action bade him "take

that much back to thy master." When Patarbêmis still ventured to persist, and called upon him to obey the king's mandate and follow him, Amasis made him answer, that it was precisely the thing he was preparing to do: Apries should have no fault to find with him for delay; he would come very quickly indeed, and bring others with him. Patarbêmis could not mistake his intention; and observing the extent of his preparations, set out with all haste to carry to the king intelligence of what was going forward. When he came into the presence, unaccompanied by Amasis, the king would not suffer him to speak a word, but in a towering rage, ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. Those Egyptians who were still faithful to the king, witnessing this shameful outrage upon the most reputed of their number, lost no time in joining the revolt, and transferred themselves and their allegiance to Amasis.

163. Upon this last occurrence, Apries at once armed his paid troops, and marched out to meet the Egyptians. His mercenaries were the Ionians and Carians, and numbered thirty thousand, and his headquarters were the palace at Sais, a spacious and wonderful range of buildings. Thus the host of Apries was set against the Egyptians, and the host of Amasis against the foreigners; and coming together at the town of Mememphis, they prepared for the impending struggle.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven castes, and these are, the priests, the warriors, the cow-keepers, the swineherds, the traffickers, the interpreters, and the boatmen. Such are the castes of Egypt, each being named from an occupation. The warriors are also known either as Hermotybians or Calasirians—coming from different districts; for it is to be remembered that all Egypt is thus divided into districts.

165. The Hermotybians come from the undermentioned districts: Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopitis, and one half of Natho. They number, at the highest computation, sixteen myriads; and

none of their number learns a craft or trade, the whole caste being devoted to a warlike life.

166. The districts which furnish the Calasirians are these: Thebes, Bubastis, Aphis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharboethus, Thmuis, Cnaphis, Anysis, and Myecphoris,—this last is an island lying over against the city of Bubastis. From these districts come the Calasirians, numbering at most twenty-five myriads of men. These, like the others, are forbidden to practise any craft; they occupy themselves with military matters only, the son herein always following his father.

167. Whether the Greeks borrowed this iden as well as others from the Egyptians, I cannot certainly decide. I find the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and almost all foreign people, agreed in regarding with less respect those who study and practise a craft, and their children with them; while those who are unoccupied by a handicraft are esteemed by all as noble, and especially such as are devoted to a life of war. All Greeks alike have adopted these sentiments; they prevail most with the Lacedemonians, and least with the Corinthians, who do not so much despise handicraftsmen.

168. The warrior-caste enjoyed certain privileges, shared by none but the priests: for example, twelve arurae of the best land were assigned, free of taxes, to each. The arura is a land measure, and is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits, the Egyptian cubit being identical with that of Samos. All had this particular advantage; but there were other benefits which they reaped in rotation, the same persons never twice obtaining them. A thousand Calasirians, and another thousand from the Hermotybians, constituted each year alternately the king's spearmen, and during attendance received daily, besides their land, five minæ by weight of baked bread, two minæ of ox-beef, and four measures of wine—these quantities being always observed.

169. Apries at the head of his mercenaries, and Amasis leading the Egyptians, met then at Momemphis, and upon meeting engaged. The foreign troops fought

well, but being far weaker in point of numbers, they were hence overpowered. It had been they say the belief of Apries, that no one, not even a god, had strength sufficient to take away his throne, so firmly did he think himself established on it; however, he was defeated in this encounter, taken prisoner, and conducted to that palace in the city of Sais which had so lately been his own, and was now in the possession of Amasis. For a while he was kept in the palace, and treated with consideration; but upon being reproached by the Egyptians with thus neglecting justice, and cherishing his greatest foe and theirs, Amasis surrendered to them the captive king. The Egyptians at once strangled and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers, which is in the temple of Athene, close to the sanctuary, and on the left hand side as one enters. The men of Sais buried all the kings sprung from their district in this temple, so that Amasis sleeps there as well as Apries and his ancestors. The tomb of Amasis is at a greater distance from the sanctuary than that of Apries and his progenitors; it is however within the court of the temple, and is built as a large stone cloister, with pillars cut to resemble palm-trees, and other costly adornments. Two folding doors open out from the cloisters upon a chamber, within which lies the coffin.

170. The sepulchre of one, whose name in such connection I should think it impious to proclaim, is also to be seen in this temple of Athene, at Sais. It stands behind the sanctuary, occupying the entire back wall of it. There are also some great stone obelisks in the enclosure, and near at hand, adorned with a stone coping continued all round it, is a lake, which is circular and equal in size, I think, to that one at Delos which is called the Hoop-water.

171. On this lake the Egyptians hold that nightly exhibition of the sufferings of the Nameless One, which they call the mysteries. I know each particular of this celebration, but shall preserve upon them a reverential silence. In the mysteries of the death of Demeter,

called by the Greeks the Thesmophoria, I am equally well versed, and shall maintain upon them the same reserve, except so far as license of speech is allowed. They who brought these rites from Egypt, and instructed the Pelasgic women in them, were the daughters of Danaus. When all the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus were driven out before the Dorians, the secret departed with them—the Arcadians, who alone of the Peloponnesians remained in their own country, alone retaining it.

172. Apries having been thus cut off, Amasis became king. He was of the Saitic district, from a city called Siouph. The Egyptians held him at first in light esteem, and paid him little respect, as one who had been but a private person, and was sprung from no great house; but Amasis won them over by wisdom, in place of employing brute force. Among the thousand treasures of his palace was a foot-bath of gold, wherein Amasis and his guests used on occasion to wash their feet. He had this broken up, and constructed from it the image of a god, which he set up in the most frequented part of the city. The Egyptian citizens flocked to it, and paid it all possible honours; which so soon as Amasis knew, he called them together, and thus openly addressed them:—"I made the image which you worship from a foot-pan; and that wherein we were wont to spit and stale, and wash our feet, is what you now so mightily reverence. I am something the same in my fortunes as the foot-pan; but if I was before but a common citizen, let me say that I am now a king, and as a king I bid you honour and revere me." By these means he won over the Egyptians to think it right and due to reverence and obey him.

173. He adopted the following distribution of his business. From sunrise till the hour when the market fills, he transacted with profound attention such matters as came before him; for the rest of the day he drank and laughed with his fellow revellers, jesting like the freest and most careless. His friends took this practice

of his to heart, and counselled him against it, saying, "O king! thou dost not well defend thy dignity, in lending thyself to such low fellows. It were seemlier in thee to sit through the day upon thy throne, and thence govern the state. So would the Egyptians know that a great king ruled them, and thou wouldest be more nobly spoken of, for now thy deeds are in nothing royal." The king made them answer: "They that have bows, string them for use, and, when their shooting is done, unstring them; did they keep them always strung, the bows would break, and in time of need there would be none to use. Such, too, is the nature of a man: if he determines to be always hard at work, and never to abandon himself a moment to play, he will either go mad or die of brain fever. And because I know this, I give the proper attention to relaxation and to business." So answered the king his friends.

174. The story is that Amasis had, even as a private man, been a lover of good jests and a wine-drinker, and in no respects seriously given; and that whenever the needful failed him for his drinking-bouts and feasting, he had roamed about and turned thief for his living. Those who charged him with having taken their money would bring him, upon denial, before their particular oracle, and he was as often pronounced innocent by the oracles as guilty. Accordingly, on coming to the throne, he completely disregarded such oracles as had pronounced him not a thief; neither assisting in their enrichment nor frequenting them for sacrifice, but entirely neglecting them as lying oracles, and beneath all notice. But of all such as had denounced him for a robber he took especial care, pronouncing the gods who governed them to be true gods, and their utterances veracious.

175. Thus was it that he came to build the gateways of Athene's temple at Sais, an astounding work, and one surpassing all other buildings in height and extent, as well as in the prodigious size and admirable workmanship of the stones used in it. He also presented to

enormous size, besides dressed blocks of gigantic dimensions for the repairs of the temple. Some of these he procured from the quarries near Memphis, but the largest were from the city of Elephantina, which is a twenty days' sail from Sais. What I found most admirable among them was a chamber constructed from one single stone, quarried at Elephantina. They were three years in conveying this mass to Sais, and two thousand men were employed as its conductors, who were all by caste boatmen. The length of this apartment on the outside is twenty-one cubits, its breadth fourteen, its height eight,—these are the external measurements. Inside, the length is nearly nineteen cubits, the breadth twelve cubits, and the height five. It stands close to the entrance of the temple, and they give this reason for not having taken it within. When the stone reached this spot, the architect, overpowered with the long labour and anxiety, heaved a very natural sigh; whereupon Amasis, thinking this a serious omen, suffered it to be dragged no further. Others say that one of the workmen at the levers was crushed under it, and that on this account its conveyance was stayed.

176. To all the other shrines of repute Amasis made also magnificent gifts. Among them is the recumbent colossus before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, whose length is seventy-five feet. There are two other colossal figures upon the same platform, made of Ethiopian marble, twenty feet high, and placed on either side of the temple. There is also another stone figure at Sais, of the same size with that at Memphis, and like it recumbent. Besides these, Amasis built the temple of Isis at Sais,—a very vast structure, and well worthy inspection.

177. It was during the reign of Amasis that Egypt is said to have been most prosperous. The operations of the river were unfailing, the land generously rewarded its cultivators, and the number of inhabited cities in the country had grown to twenty thousand. King Amasis

made a law that every Egyptian should show himself once a year before the chief of his district and declare his means of subsistence ; failing to do which, or to establish the honesty of his life, he was to suffer death. Solon the Athenian borrowed this enactment from Egypt to introduce it in Athens, and the men of that city have ever since observed it as an unimpeachable custom.

178. Amasis was a great friend to the Greeks ; and besides favouring certain persons among them, he assigned Nancratis for a settlement to all such as would repair to Egypt. To such as traded thither only, without the intention of settling in the country, he granted pieces of land whereon to build altars and shrines to their gods. The most considerable of these, and one of great reputation and costliness, was called the Hellenium. It was built at the joint cost of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ, on the part of the Ionians ; Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Phaselis on the part of the Dorians ; and Mitylene on the part of the Æolians. The shrine was erected by these cities, which possess the right of appointing the superintendents of the emporium there ; if any other cities claim to share the right, they do it without a warrant. The Eginetans built themselves a temple, dedicating it to Zeus, the Samians another, to Here, and the Milesians a third, to Apollo.

179. Formerly Nancratis was alone the foreign emporium, and there was none else in Egypt. If a stranger entered any other mouth of the Nile, he was compelled to take oath that he had come thither against his will ; after which he had to sail his ship back to the Canobic mouth. If this were not feasible, by reason of contrary winds, he might take his merchandise in boats all round the Delta, thus reaching Nancratis, that city being honoured with the monopoly of foreign wares.

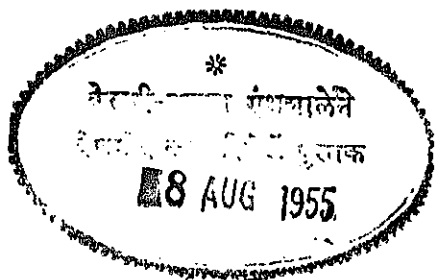
180. When the old temple at Delphi was accidentally burnt down, the Amphictyonic council contracted for its rebuilding at the sum of three hundred talents. It fell to the Delphians to furnish a fourth part of the cost of contract, and they sent deputies from city to city .

to beg contributions. They obtained as much from Egypt as from any place, for Amasis gave them a thousand talents of alum, and the Greek settlers in Egypt subscribed twenty mine.

181. Amasis concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Cyrenæans. He thought fit also to marry a lady of that colony, either because he had a fancy for a Greek wife, or else from a friendly feeling towards Cyrene. She whom he married was named Ladice, and was by some accounts the daughter of Battus or Arcesilaus, while others maintain her to have been the child of Critobulus, one of the first Cyrenæan citizens. At the time for the consummation of the marriage, Amasis found himself seized with an unaccustomed weakness, and upon its continuance he accused his bride, saying: "Woman, thou hast certainly bewitched me; and thou shalt die for it without rescue, as miserably as ever woman died yet." Ladice earnestly denied the charge, but without convincing Amasis: she vowed therefore in her heart to Aphrodite, that if her husband's vigour should return before the morrow, which was to be her last day of life, she would send a statue to the temple of the goddess at Cyrene. Immediately afterwards the king's strength returned, and did not again desert him; and thenceforth he became passionately attached to Ladice. She kept her vow, and sent the image to Cyrene, where it was standing uninjured at my visit there, facing outward from the city. Afterwards, when Cambyses conquered Egypt, he made Ladice prisoner; but, understanding who she was, he sent her without injury to Cyrene.

182. Amasis sent many offerings to Grecian temples. Among these was the image of Minerva in gold, presented to Cyrene, besides a statue of himself, finished off with colour; two stone images, and a curious linen corslet, for the Athenè of Lindus; and a pair of wooden effigies representing himself, which he gave to the Hero of Samos, and which were standing in the great sanctuary behind the doors, when I was there. Amasis made these

presents to Samos on account of the friendship between himself and Polycrates the son of Cæces. He had another motive for his gifts to the goddess at Lindus, in that the temple there is said to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, who touched at the island in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such kingly gifts gave Amasis. He was also the first monarch who took Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.



NOTES.

Ch. 1.—1. The date of this expedition of Cambyses was B. C. 526. His name occurs here in connection with the 1st Book, as this description of Egypt is only an episode in the history of Herodotus.

2. 'Kambath' is the name of this monarch on the sculptures.

3. Cyrus, his father, had overthrown the Ionian and Æolian cities by his general Harpagus, with the express design of marching afterwards upon Egypt.

Ch. 2.—1. In illustration of this claim to antiquity, compare chapter 142, where a duration of 11,000 years is assigned to the Egyptian nation. A settled monarchy did actually exist in Egypt earlier than in any other country whose history we know: authentic Egyptian dates begin with B. C. 2700.

2. Psammitichus, perhaps, derived this love of inquiry (consult ch. 28) from his Greek visitors (vide ch. 154).

3. Sanscrit scholars will compare the word 'bekos,' meaning 'bread,' with ब्रह्म and the English 'bake.' If the utterance of the children was not an imitation of the bleating of the goats, it is as like the 'poik' or 'payk' of the Egyptians, which means 'cake,' as that for which Psammitichus took it.

4. The Babylonians, less moderate than the Egyptians, counted 408,000 years from Cyrus to their first king Alorus.

Ch. 3.—1. Thebes is in Egyptian 'Ap' or 'Apé,' the head, and with the feminine article 'Thape'; hence its name.

2. Heliopolis, or On, the 'City of the Sun,' was the Oxford of Egypt.

3. The reserve of the Historian in this and other chapters (vide 45, 46, 61, 81, &c.) is due, perhaps, to promises of secrecy given to the priests who were his informants. Herodotus, as a Grecian, was accustomed to respect the 'mysteries' of his own countrymen, in which he was deeply initiated.

Ch. 4.—1. The original division of the Egyptian year was taken from the moon, which is the hieroglyphical sign for 'month.' In India, the lunar year is also older than the solar.

2. The constant recurrence of the name 'Menes' or 'Men,' as *Manes* of Lydia, *Minos* of Crete, and *Mennu* of India, seems to point him out as a mythical personage.

3. The great Egyptian gods were of three orders: 'The Eight,' 'The Twelve,' and 'Those Born of The Twelve.' The 'Cabiri' of the Phenicians were also eight in number, and the gods of Olympus twelve. The 'eight' are Amun, Mant, Nef, Sâte, Pthah (Sansk. अग्नि), Noth, Khom, and Pasht.

Ch. 5.—1. Herodotus' theory of the gradual acquisition of the country is not borne out by facts. At the depth of 40 feet in the Delta, marine productions are still wanting, and it is clear that the alluvial deposit has been laid upon a floor originally above the level of the Mediterranean. The Delta has lost instead of gained.

2. A day's sail, according to Herodotus, was 30 koss, and at that distance from the coast there are as many fathoms of water. He is wrong in facts and theory. The Nile enters the sea at present at the same distance north of lake Mæris as it did in the times of the kings; besides, the shore of Alexandria and Pharos Island is *rock*, and remains the same.

Ch. 6.—1. The true length of this coast-line is about 150 koss. The word 'schœne' is a Greek word, signifying 'rush,' of which ropes were formerly and are still made in Egypt. The English word 'skein' is a derivative of it.

2. This custom of suiting the standard measurement to the extent of land is by no means universal. The largest country in Europe—Russia—uses the smallest measure, viz. the 'verst.'

Ch. 7.—1. The 'altar of the twelve gods' was a central point at Athens from which distances were measured, as from the 'golden milestone' at Rome.

2. 1,500 stades = 85 koss; the true distance from Heliopolis to the sea is 55 koss. It is worth notice that most measures are derived from the human body or its actions. Thus in Greek we have the 'dactyl' or *finger*, of which four make the 'palmist' or *palm*, of which three make the 'spithamé' or *span*, and four the 'pous' or *foot*. The 'pêchus,' or *fore-arm and fingers*, is a foot and a half, and four of these *cubits* make the 'orguia' or space enclosed by the extended arms.

Ch. 8.—1. The Historian is wrong in making these mountains extend so far to the east; nor are they spice-producing. He

is connecting them erroneously with those of Arabia:—compare the description with the Map.

2. At the point of the valley near Stoôt, Egypt is only 7 miles wide.

Ch. 9.—1. Narrow in the middle, and expanding above and below, the country has been compared to a double-headed battle-axe, with the handle between the two heads, at Memphis.

2. The measurements are again incorrect, as may be expected. From Thebes to Elephantina is 1100 stades, or 32 koss, not 1800.

Ch. 10.—1. The alluvial plain at the mouth of the Mæander has advanced a distance of 13 miles. At Ephesus, a plain of 3 miles has been created since the days of Herodotus, and the increase alluded to is equally noticeable elsewhere.

2. The Nile, having seven mouths, is spoken of here as 'five-mouthed' only; because two, the Bolbitina and Bucolic, are artificial.

Ch. 11.—1. The Erythrean or Red Sea was all the Indian Ocean from the Persian Gulf to India; the name is given also to other seas, as that between Mount Sinai and Egypt. The real length of the present Red Sea is 700 koss, and its greatest breadth 85.

2. It appears certain that Egypt was never a gulf of the sea, as Herodotus thinks; at least never since man inhabited it.

3. The length of time assigned by Herodotus to the physical operations of nature is gaining credit. The Chevallier Bunson thinks that at least 18,000 years are demanded by pre-Christian annals, and recent observations upon the gradual wearing of the rock at Niagara prove the long-continued action of rivers.

Ch. 12.—1. The 'black and crumbly' soil of Egypt contains much silica, so as to resemble pottery when dried; the soil of Lybia is red, from the abundance of iron which it contains.

2. The argument derived from the presence of shells upon the hills is inconclusive. Such strata have, doubtless, once been under water; but their upheaval was anterior to the creation of the river.

Ch. 13.—1. Rain falls frequently in Lower Egypt, but seldom or never in Upper. Lepsius relates that when a storm of rain surprised his party at Assuan, the Turkish kawass refused to believe his senses, and stood repeating '*abaden moio*'—it never rains!

2. Corn is trodden into the soil by sheep to this day in a district of Wales.

3. The ease with which Egyptian agriculture is carried on must be understood of the Delta only and the immediate banks of the Nile; other lands require great labour and attention.

Ch. 14.—Oxen were more commonly employed to tread out the grain, as in India.

Ch. 15.—1. The ancient name of Egypt is *Chemi*—‘The Black Land,’ or ‘Land of Kham’ (or Ham): Kham being the name of the ancestor of the Africans, and signifying also ‘black.’ *Aegyptus* was the name of the Nile only in Homer, and was adopted probably from *Coptos*, a city of the Thebaid—the same as Caphtor; whence *Ai-Caphtor*, ‘the Land of Caphtor,’ or Egypt. *Misr*, the present name, means in Arabic ‘red mud.’

2. ‘Canopus’ or ‘Canopus’ is ‘Kahi Noub’ or ‘golden ground.’

3. Pelusium is from (Gr.) ‘pêlos,’ the ‘city of mud.’ It is called *Teouch* now by the Arabians, from ‘teen,’ also signifying in Arabic ‘mud.’

Ch. 16.—Egypt belongs geographically to Africa, but has been peopled from Asia. Pliny calls the Egyptians “not Ethiopians but Arabs.”

Ch. 17.—1. It is curious that the two artificial mouths of the Nile are the only ones remaining open, under the names of the Rosetta and Damietta branches, answering to the Bolbitis and Bucolic.

2. The Arabs call the Nile-months ‘ostoom,’ from the Greek ‘*stoma*’ and the Latin ‘*ostium*.’

Ch. 18.—1. Marea was famous for its wine.

2. The Egyptians might eat oxen, but not cows or heifers, these being sacred to Athor (not to Isis), whose temple was at Atarbeeis (compare ch. 41). The restriction arose, as in India, from the value of the breeding animal, which was protected by mysterious doctrines, as the simple law would have been insufficient. In Palestine the custom prevailed without the annexed superstition.

Ch. 19.—1. Near Memphis, the Nile rises at the end of June, and attains its greatest elevation in September.

2. The cause of the inundation is simply the rain which falls in Abyssinia. The two main branches of the Southern Nile join at Khartoom. One is called the ‘White,’ the other

* Just as the Hindoos avoid the pronunciation of the ‘at’ at the commencement of words, calling string, *i-string*; stockings, *i-stockings*, &c. &c.

the 'Blue' or 'Black' river, from which apparently comes the name 'Nile,' Sansc. निळा (unless the name is a corruption of 'Nahl'—nulla, a river-bed). The old Egyptian name is 'Hapi,' which resembles 'Apis,' and recalls the Greek representation of a river under the form of a bull.

3. I have here translated the Greek word 'fogs.' It is true that fogs are seen in the early morning on the river, but they never last till noon, and Diodorus in this sense states that the Nile "has no fogs." The usual translation is 'breezes,' but there is always a breeze in the valley.

Ch. 20.—The annual north-west or Etesian winds assist, although they do not cause, the inundation.

Ch. 21.—The opinion combated in this chapter was that of Hecataeus, the predecessor of Herodotus in History.

Ch. 22.—1. This opinion was held by Anaxagoras and Euripides. Herodotus is wrong in denying the existence of snow in Abyssinia—it is perpetual on the mountain-ranges there, as on the Andes at Quito, and the south face of Himalaya and other tropical regions.

2. There is plenty of rain too in Senaar:—that rain follows snow seems confirmed by the saying in England—

"Three days' hoar-frost,
One day's rain."

3. Immense flights of cranes go to Ethiopia in the winter, which has given rise to the story of the Cranes and Pigmies of Africa.

Ch. 25.—It is true that the sun gathers moisture from the sea into the air, which is transferable in the form of clouds by the wind; the rest of the explanation is useless.

Ch. 26.—1. Herodotus justly describes the air as 'dry' in Egypt. It is singularly good on this account for pulmonary diseases, as is that of Australia for the same reason.

2. Geographical analogies, of which Herodotus is fond, must not be overlooked, as they are occasionally very striking. Italy, for instance, is strangely like India. The great central table-land of Hindustan represents the Apennines, and the Himalayas the Alps; Ceylon is Sicily; the river Ganges is the river Po; Calcutta standing for Venice, Genoa for Bombay, and Agra for Milan.

Ch. 27.—Compare note on chapter 19.

Ch. 28.—1. The sources of the Blue Nile are known, those of the White Nile are still undiscovered: it was the great problem of the Romans, like our North-West Passage.

2. The Egyptian was jesting with Herodotus; Crophl and Mophl belong only to the geography of 'gilbertish.' He was a 'Karkoon' of the temple, and had charge probably of the offerings made to the goddess.

Ch. 20.—1. The land rising south of Elephantina might have convinced Herodotus that the river could not run that way.

2. Tachompsa is probably near Philæ.

3. The "other Ethiopians" are those not nomad. The Greek 'Æthiops' is a form of the Egyptian name of Nubia, 'Ethosh.'

4. Zeus and Dionysus are the Egyptian gods Amun and Osiris.

Ch. 30.—1. The real cause of the secession of the Automoli (*i. e.* Deserters) was their being placed on the left of the army—'asmach' meaning 'left.'

2. The conclusion of the chapter rightly indicates that the Ethiopians borrowed their religion and civilisation from Egypt.

Ch. 31.—The 'White Nile' is here meant as flowing from west to east.

Ch. 32.—1. The shrine of Ammon was in the Oasis now called 'Seo-wah.'

2. 'Nasamonians' are the 'Nahsi Amun,' *i. e.* Negroes of Northern Libya.

3. Men of diminutive stature exist in tribes about Africa. The 'Dokos,' south-west of Abyssinia, answer to the description given in this chapter.

4. The great river may have been the Niger, and the town Timbuctoo.

Ch. 33.—1. The statement as to the source of the Danube is conjectural as regards the Historian, and shows only that he had some idea of the existence and position of the Pyrennees.

2. The southern mouth of the Danube is now 30 koss from Kostendje, the site of the ancient Istria.

Ch. 35.—1. The account of Egypt which now commences is strictly 'a history,'—that is to say 'information gathered by inquiry.'


2. It is curious that the little instrument used for hand-spinning in the Deccan, called चार्कि, and that represented on the Egyptian monuments, are identical.

3. Although not as priestesses, women served in the temples. At Thebes there is the record of "the chief of the women of Amun."

Ch. 36.—1. The 'zoe' here spoken of is the 'doma' of modern Egypt.

2. The natural mode of writing is unquestionably from right to left.

3. Hieroglyphical writing is of three kinds:—1. Imitative, as when the sun is represented by a disc ☉ and the moon by a crescent ☾. 2. Tropical, where one object is

substituted for another—as where  heaven, and a star is

written for 'night,' a leg in a trap for 'deceit,' an egg for a 'child.' 3. The Enigmatic, where an emblem represents the object—as a hawk, the sun; a seated figure with a curved beard, a god; and the two water-plants, Upper and Lower Egypt.

4. The invention of the Alphabet is due to the Phœnicians, which is expressed in the legend that Cadmus gave 'letters' to the Greeks,—Cadmus = Kadin, which means 'the East.' 'This Phœnician alphabet was probably in use B. C. 1500. The Persian word 'dofter,' an 'account-book,' is derived from the Greek name for the skins used in writing, viz. 'diphthera.' As another instance of similarity, may be noticed the numerals 1, 2, 3, Indian १, २, ३, Hieratic 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂, all clearly originating in the simple lines — = ≡, converted into — 𐤀 𐤁

Ch. 37.—1. The rite of circumcision, which existed from the most ancient date in Egypt, had its origin in this love of cleanliness.

2. The dress of the priests, either linen or leathern, recalls the injunction of Moses, Institutes, chap. 6, sect. 6: "Let him wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of bark, &c."

3. In illustration of this exemption from taxes, compare (Genesis xlvii. 20), where, upon the assumption of all the land by Joseph in payment for corn, the priests' land is preserved to them.

4. Pythagoras borrowed this tenet of abstinence from the bean, as food. Cicero says that it arose from its disturbing influence during sleep.

Ch. 38.—'Baphus' is probably a Greek form of the word Apis.

Ch. 39.—Compare with the custom described in this chapter that of the 'scape-goat' of the Israelites, and the 'lustratio' of the Romans.

Ch. 40.—The goddess here alluded to is Isis, whom Herodotus confounds with Athor, who was the Venus of Egypt.

- Ch. 41.—1. 'Io' is either the Egyptian word '*Ehe*,' a cow, or '*Ioh*,' the moon. The Greeks united these derivations in their '*Io* the mother of Epaphros.'
2. 'Atarbedis' is *Athorbeck*, the city of Athor, as '*Baalbek*' is the city of Baal.
- Ch. 42.—1. This fable of the reluctance of Zeus to exhibit himself accords with the meaning of his Egyptian name '*Amon*,' which is 'concealment.'
2. The god '*Noum*' or '*Nof*' is represented on the sculptures with a ram's head.
- Ch. 43.—The Greek god '*Hercules*' is represented by the Egyptian god '*Mout*,' who was 'the splendour of the sun.' '*Harh*' is the Semitic word for fire, and '*Aor*' in Hebrew is 'light'; which seems to connect them, as also with '*Ilor*' or '*Ilorus*' of Egypt. The Egyptian hero-god is '*Son*,' which, again, is very like the name of the Israelitish hero '*Samson*.'
- Ch. 44.—1. Hercules was called '*Mel-carth*' at Tyre, i. e. '*Molek-kartha*,' or 'lord of the city.'
2. This emerald pillar was probably of glass, which was known in Egypt 3800 years ago (compare ch. 60).
3. The '*search for Europa*' means the discovery of Europe, '*Europa*' being '*Erob*' (Arabic '*Gharb*'), the West. It is the same word as '*Erobos*' or 'darkness'; Europe being the land of the setting sun. So in German '*Abend*' is the West and evening, and Asia Minor is now called '*Anadoul*,' i. e. the East or morning. The word '*Arab*' عرب is from غرب given to that people as they dwelt in the west of Asia.
- Ch. 45.—The reasoning of the Historian is not conclusive against the custom of human sacrifices amongst the Egyptians. The hieroglyphical sign for a sacrificial victim is a man with his arms tied behind him. The tenderness of Brahmins for animal and insect life did not prevent '*sati*,' and the '*churk pooja*.'
- Ch. 47.—The flesh of the pig is undoubtedly unwholesome in the East, and its prohibition a wise one; it was common to the Israelites and Egyptians in ancient times.
- Ch. 48.—Bacchus is the Egyptian Osiris; the Greeks sacrificed a pig at their Bacchic festivals, in which also the car drawn by leopards recalled the leopard skin worn by the priest of Osiris.
- Ch. 49.—'Melampus' means 'black foot'; he is doubtless an

imaginary personage, embodying the fact that those ceremonies came from Egypt, 'the black land.'

Ch. 50.—In illustration of this origin for the nomenclature of the Greek gods, notice 'Themis' from 'Thmei,' the goddess of truth, which is the Hebrew 'Thummin.' The 'Nereids' or water-goddesses are connected with the Arabic 'Nahr,' a river;—compare the name of water नीर, and 'Narayan,' the divine spirit 'floating on the waters,' in Hindoo mythology. The Dioscuri or twin-gods resemble the 'Aswinau' or twin horsemen of the Vedus.

Ch. 51.—1. A passage from Bacon has been aptly quoted with reference to these admissions of the Historian that Greece borrowed so much from Egypt: he observes—"The writings that relate these fables, being not delivered as inventions of the writers, but as things before believed and received, appear like a soft whisper from the traditions of more ancient nations, conveyed through Grecian flutes."

2. Nothing certain is known of the 'Cabiri'; the word is derived from the Semitic 'kabir,' great.

Ch. 52.—The commoner Greek derivation of 'Theol' was from *θεω*, to run, because the first gods worshipped were the planetary bodies; but Theol is far older than Greek. Zeus, or Theos, or Deus, is the Sansc. देव, which comes from the root दिव, to shine; whence दिवा, दिवस.

Ch. 53.—The date of Homer was probably about 900 B. C.

Ch. 55.—The word in Greek signifying 'doves' contains also the signification of 'their dark and dusk colours'; the legend may have thus originated.

Ch. 56.—That the Phœnicians were engaged in such a slave-trade as that alluded to, is seen by reference to Joel iii. 6, where they are described as selling Jewish children "to the Grecians."

Ch. 58.—In these 'assemblies,' sacred boats and arks were borne, strongly resembling those of the Jews and Hindoos. Horus is the steersman of the Egyptian boat, as Vishnu of the Indian.

Ch. 59.—Bubastis is 'Pl-Pasht,' the Egyptian Diana.

Ch. 61.—Busiris means 'the burial-place of Osiris.' On the wall at Behâyt, the scene of these observances, is depicted the ark of Isis, with figures beating themselves in honour of Osiris (compare ch. 40 and the present chapter).

from the ruins there. Neith, the Grecian Minerva (Athene), was its goddess.

Ch. 63.—The Egyptian deity most resembling Ares or Mars is 'Mandoo.'

Ch. 64.—Plutarch asserts that no wine might be even taken into the temple of the Sun.

Ch. 65.—The reverence of the Egyptians for animals was originally inculcated for purposes of utility. Thus cats, ichneumonons, falcons, vultures, &c. were protected as the scavengers and sanitary agents of the land; and the crocodile was made sacred in districts distant from the Nile, that the canals for their sakes might be more carefully maintained.

Ch. 67.—The *Ichneumon* is now called 'Pharaoh's cat,' denoting the respect in which it was formerly held. There are no bears in Egypt, and the wolves are as the historian describes them.

Ch. 68.—The crocodile has been known to live in a house three months without food: it becomes, when full grown, in accordance with the statement in this chapter, seventy times longer than its egg. That it is blind under water is not the case, and the story of the trochilus must be derived from the shrill note with which it flies away on the approach of man, thus unintentionally warning the crocodile of danger.

Ch. 69.—1. The alligator is in the same way honoured* in Sind and elsewhere.

2. The words translated 'glass' here mean literally 'molten stone.'

3. 'Crocodile' is the Greek word for 'lizard,' like the Portuguese 'al-legato,'—the great lizard, the alligator.

Ch. 74.—The horned snake (*vipera cerastes*) is common in Egypt. Its ancient name, 'Aspis,' is from the Egyptian 'ouro,' king, as its Grecian name 'basilisk,' from Basileus, a king; this serpent being the sign of royalty. The whole story of Cleopatra's death probably arises from the fact that her statue, as a Queen's, was borne in Augustus' triumph, with an asp upon it. There was no change upon her dead body: Shakspeare says,—

....."She looks
As she could catch another Antony
In her strong toil of grace;"—

whereas the bite of the Egyptian asp would have sorely marred the beauty of the dead queen.

- Ch. 75.—The 'winged snake' is a puzzle. There exists such a creature as the *draco volans*, but not in Egypt. The ibis does destroy snakes, and remains of them have been found in the intestines of mummified birds; but it is more than probable that the tale originates in the invasion of the locusts, and their destruction by these and other birds.
- Ch. 76.—The regard shown for ibises in Egypt, as for storks in Turkey and Holland, and the adjutant-bird in Hongal, arises from their utility as scavengers.
- Ch. 77.—Athenous says that the wine was first discovered in Egypt.
- Ch. 78.—The Egyptian idea of death was so completely free from the childish and unreasonable gloominess of later times, that this practice had far less austerity than would appear. It might serve to recall the forgetful guest to a thought of Osiris, 'the lord of the upper and lower world.' It was his figure which was borne about the guest chamber.
- Ch. 79.—1. This melody was called in Egypt 'Manoros,' as below, which is thought to be Man-hor, Horus being taken for 'the son of the first king.' 'Men-Re, the maker of hymns,' is a name occurring in the hieroglyphics, and applies to the Sun. The national songs of Egypt were reputed to be 10,000 years old, and were ascribed to Isis.
2. The 'Allion' is a Greek expression of grief, which may refer to this song.
- Ch. 80.—Such reverence for the old prevails with the Chinese and Japanese. A story is told by Plutarch, confirming this praise of the Lacedemonians. Their ambassadors were in the Athenian theatre when an old man entered it, and looked in vain for a place. No one stirred; and seeing this, the Lacedemonians rose all together, to offer him accommodation: whereupon the Athenians vociferously applauded them, and the old man exclaimed—"The Athenians know what is right, but the Lacedemonians practise it."
- Ch. 81.—The similarity of the Orphic and Bacchic rites to those of Egypt is due to their direct derivation from that country.
- Ch. 82.—1. In illustration of this may be noticed the months Thoth and Athor, named after those deities. It is asserted by Dion Cassius that the days of the week were first called after the planets by the Egyptians. Their number (seven) was derived both by the Jews and Pythagoreans from the Egyptian usage, as shown in the seven days' fête of Apis, the fourteen pieces of Osiris' body, &c.

2. It is curious that night was considered in Egypt older than day,—an idea reflected in our numeration of nights instead of days, in the words 'so'nlight,' 'fortnight.'

Ch. 83.—Fortunes were predicted by observing the constellations on the eastern horizon at birth. The fallacy of predicting a particular death from the 'ascendant' is exposed by Cleero, who asks,—“Were all those born under one constellation, who fell at Cannæ, for they all had one and the same death?”

Ch. 84.—1. Egypt was celebrated for its medical *schools*. Polydamna, the wife of Thonis, gives drugs to Helen (compare ch. 116); Cyrus and Darius sent to Egypt for doctors; and Jeremiah lvi. 11 says—“O daughter of Egypt (in vain shalt thou use many medicines.” An acquaintance with medicine passed from Egypt to Europe through the Arabs.

2. Pliny ascribes numerous diseases to the Egyptians, differing from the Historian (compare ch. 77).

Ch. 86.—1. These ‘model-coffins’ were all made in the form of Osiris. The most expensive mode of embalment, presently described, was very expensive, and cost a talent of silver = Rs. 2,500.

2. This Ethiopian stone is black flint or ‘obsidian,’ a volcanic mineral, which splits with a very keen edge.

3. The ‘natron’ mentioned here is the sub-carbonate of soda, which is plentiful in the Libyan desert and in Upper Egypt.

4. The name ‘mummy’ is the Arabic word ‘moomia,’ from mûm, wax; Hindustani ‘mom.’ Some of the mummies show traces of preservation by means of wax, which rendered the limbs less rigid.

5. All the mummy-cloths were linen, and they were stained with the safflower.

6. This sepulchral chamber was not in their own houses, but in the floor of a room attached to the tomb.

Ch. 90.—The ‘priests of Nilus’ belonged probably to Nilopolis, where the god Nile was greatly worshipped, and had a temple.

Ch. 91.—1. Chemmis is the city of Khem, whose hieroglyphic, with the sign ☀ denoting land or region, is upon the title-page of the present translation, and denotes the land of Khem or Ham, i. e. ‘The Black Land,’ or Egypt. Khem was the generative principle, and answered to the Greek Pan; the Greeks accordingly called Chemmis, Panopolis. In the processions, the white bull accompanies Khem, just as it does the Indian god who presides over generation, Mahadeva.

2. 'Chemmi,' or 'Chemmi,' is the origin of the word 'alchemy,' the *black art*.

Ch. 92.—1. The lotus is called in Arabic 'nufar,' and by the Buddhists of Thibet 'nenuphar.' The god Nofr-Atmoo bears it upon his head, and its name 'nufar' is probably the same as the god's title, which means 'good.' Harpocrates is frequently represented as seated upon it, with his finger upon his lip, as the god of childhood ('infans'), not as the god of 'silence,' which was the common idea.

2. This lily was probably the '*nymphaea nelumbo*,' so common in India,—

"The fair Nelumbo bud, which floats for ever,
With Indian Cupid, down the Ganges river."

It grows no longer in Egypt.

3. The 'hyblus' or 'papyrus' has given us the words 'bible' (or book) and 'paper'; its botanical name is '*Cyperus papyrus*.' Thin slices of the pith were cut and laid in rows, and these being crossed by other slices, the sheet was made to cohere by great pressure.

Ch. 93.—This account of the conception of fishes is erroneous; but the description of the order in which the shoal goes to the sea and returns is partly true. Salmon are thus caught in England, by intercepting them with nets placed at right angles to the shore of a river's mouth.

Ch. 94.—1. Herodotus speaks constantly of the marsh-land of Egypt, because he had accompanied the Athenian detachment which went there to aid Inaros the Libyan.

2. The 'silicyprium' or 'kiki' is the '*ricinus communis*' or castor-oil plant, called also '*palma christi*'; in Marathi रुई.

Ch. 95.—Compare with this passage the following from Sir Alexander Burnes' '*Memoir upon the River Indus*':—"The people bordering upon this part of the Indus—between Dukhar and Mitun Kote—live, during the swell, in houses elevated eight or ten feet above the ground, to avoid the damp and insects; these bungalows are entered by ladders."

Ch. 96.—1. The '*acantha*' is the modern 'sont,' the '*minosa nilotica*'; the Nile boats are still built of planks from this tree.

2. In coming down stream, the stone at the stern is still used to keep the boat steady, but the raft is no longer employed.

3. Some vessels have been launched upon the Nile of extraordinary dimensions. One built by Ptolemy Philopator was 478 feet in length, 92 in breadth, and 83 in depth. It had forty banks of oars, and carried 400 sailors, 4,000 rowers, and 3,000 marines.

Ch. 97.—In allusion to this overflow of the land, and the advantages derived from it, Herodotus says:—"It is a people who are best pleased the less they see of the land they dwell in."

Ch. 98.—From the same practice as that mentioned here, Plato calls a district in Persia 'The Queen's Orde.' The city of Exeter, in the same way, belonged to one of the Saxon queens.—(Vide *Annals of England*, vol. i.)

Ch. 99.—1. Almost all authorities agree in pronouncing Mên or Menes the first Egyptian king. The 'dynasty of gods' before him may imply that the land was ruled in succession by the 'collages' of the different deities.

2. No traces of this dyke or embankment remain now.

3. The name 'Memphis' is 'Men-nefer,' the 'Place of Good Men'; the modern name 'Manouf' preserving the old etymology. If not from the name of its reputed founder, it was so called as being the abode of Osiris.

Ch. 100.—This number of 380 kings is also given by a papyrus preserved at Turin. In support of the extreme antiquity claimed by the Egyptians for their royal and pre-royal epochs, the account of a recent curious discovery is subjoined from the '*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*' for March 1858, where it is quoted from a paper read before the Royal Society:—"In nearly every part of the ground [about Cairo] penetrated, artificial substances have been found, such as fragments and particles of burnt brick and pottery, and in the area of Heliopolis and Memphis fragments of statues and other sculptured stones. By far the most interesting kind of this nature was obtained from the lowest part of the boring of the soilment at the colossal statue of Rameses, at a depth of thirty-nine feet. The boring instrument brought up a fragment of pottery, now in the author's possession. It is about an inch square, and a quarter of an inch in thickness, the two surfaces being of a brick-red colour, the interior dark grey. According to Mr. Horner's deductions, this fragment having been found at a depth of thirty-nine feet (if there be no fallacy in his reasoning), must be held to be a record of the existence of man 13,375 years before A. D. 1858, reckoning by the calculated rate of increase of three inches and a half of alluvium in a century—11,517 years before the Christian era—and 7,025

before the beginning assigned by Lopsius to the reign of Menes, the founder of Memphis. Moreover, it proves, in his opinion, that man had already reached a state of civilization, so far, at least, as to be able to fashion clay into vessels and to know how to harden it by the action of strong heat. This calculation is supported by the Chevallor Bunson, who is of opinion that the first epochs of the history of the human race demand at the least a period of 20,000 years before our era as a fair starting-point in the earth's history."

Ch. 102.—1. The sea alluded to here as difficult of navigation from shallows was probably that about the mouths of the Indus. The waters of this river in the flood-time discolour the sea for three miles, and deposit a vast number of shifting mud-banks.

2. The memorials erected by Sesostria, and here described, exist still about the mouth of the Lycus in Syria.

Ch. 103.—This colony was perhaps left on the banks of the Phasis to secure a share in the Indian and Arabian commerce. With the same view, King Solomon opened the road through the valley of Petra, for the Phœnician overland caravans.


Ch. 104.—1. An examination of the mummies is against the statement made here. They show the Egyptians to have been neither black nor woolly-haired, and the formation of the skull is Asiatic rather than African. The Egyptian paintings represent the women yellow and the men red; proving a gradation of colour between them.

2. The Jews are here spoken of as 'the Syrians of Palestine.' It is not historically true that they borrowed the custom of circumcision from the Egyptians, but they did not practise it universally till they left Egypt. The Abyssinians still retain the rite, as also of course the Jews.

Ch. 105.—It is not unlikely that the word 'Sardinian' here is a mistake for 'Sardian'; the linen for which Colchis was famous was imported from Sardis.

Ch. 106.—1. The pillars seen by Herodotus, (which must have been near the present Beyroot,) condemn the Jews as a cowardly race, by the usual contemptuous feminine emblem.

2. One of the Ionian carvings here alluded to has been discovered at Ninfi, near Sardis. Although doubtless that seen by Herodotus, it is not certain that he was right in attributing it to Sesostria.

3. The bow was a weapon peculiarly Ethiopian and Libyan. 'The Land of the Nine Bows,'  thus

written, is a term applied to Libya, which was also called 'Phit,' or 'the bow.'

4. The Greeks took every Egyptian figure for Memnon, because he is mentioned in Homer as the Egyptian warrior. He was not really an Egyptian, but an Asiatic from Susa, sent by the king of Assyria to aid Priam of Troy. His body was *burnt* by his people upon recovery,—a circumstance which seems to connect him with those eastern Cushites, or Ethiopians, "who migrated from the river Indus, and settled near to Egypt."—(*Eusebius, from Manetho.*)

Ch. 108.—Horses and chariots do not occur upon the monuments until the date of 1500 B. C.; they were introduced probably from Asia. The Vedas mention horses with chariots, and their date is not far from this period.

Ch. 110.—The forbearance of Darius was in accordance with his lenient treatment of the Egyptians, which was so uniform that he obtained the epithet of 'divine' from them. They rebelled against him, however, as they did against Cambyses.

Ch. 111.—1. This son of Sesostris is supposed to be the same with the Pharaoh of the Exodus: in this case his obstinacy, and blindness for *ten* years, are curious and significant points.

2. The name 'obelisk' is Greek, and means 'a spit.' The Arabs call such a stone column '*mesalleh*,' i. e. 'a packing needle.'

Ch. 112.—'Venus the stranger' was the Astarte of the Phœnicians and Syrians; the supposition that she was Helen arose from the Greek habit of looking everywhere for Homeric personages.

Ch. 113.—To set a mark upon any one as a protection and sign of sanctuary was a very ancient custom. The word for this 'mark,' in Ezekiel ix. 4, is the same with the Egyptian sign of life.

Ch. 114.—Proteus is the name of the Greek sea-god who herds his flocks of whales and souls, and sleeps in the ocean-caves. Diodorus gives him as another name the title of Cetes, which means a whale or sea-monster. Herodotus seems therefore to have given the name of the god of some temple (probably Dagon, who was worshipped with Astarte) to a supposed king who founded the temple.

Ch. 116.—1. Sidon, now Sayda, signifies 'fishing-place.' Sidon was an older city than Tyre.

2. The fact that Herodotus gives a special title to a portion of the '*Iliad*' points to the practice of the rhapsodists, who recited it in divisions or 'fyttes.'

Ch. 117.—The '*Cypria*' is attributed with most reason to Statius.

Ch. 119.—In the same way Iphigenia was sacrificed at Aulis to break the calm which detained the Grecian ships on their outset for Troy. Compare Tennyson's '*Dream of Fair Woman*,' where Iphigenia says,—

..... "Dimly I could desery
The stern black-bearded kings, with wolfish eyes,
Waiting to see me die;
The tall masts quivered as we lay afloat,
The temples, and the people, and the shore:
One set a sharp knife to my tender throat,
Drew it—and nothing more."

Ch. 121.—1. The story which follows here has been frequently repeated. A secret entrance by a moveable stone is a favourite idea in the *الف ليلة و ليلة* and also with the Arabs in Egypt, since so many passages in Egyptian temples have been found to be so closed.

2. This shaving of the sleeping soldiers is clearly a Greek invention, and points out the source of the tale: the Egyptians wore no hair on the face. The same remark applies to the next section of the story—the marriage of an Egyptian princess to a low-born thief was only possible in fiction.

Ch. 122.—1. Hades is the Egyptian '*Amenti*,' a name which, like Erebus, means both 'the west' and 'darkness,' or 'the place of darkness.' Ceres is here put for Isis, to whom she corresponds.

2. The sacred animal of Anubis in Amenti is a jackal painted black, not a wolf.

Ch. 123.—1. The immortality of the soul was the first and noblest of the Egyptian tenets. The souls of the wicked were not lost, but entered the body of an unclean animal, when found unworthy before the judgment-seat of Osiris. Upon the monuments, a figure cuts away the ground with an axe behind them, to show the hopelessness of return. That the soul was immortal, and that nothing was annihilated, but only changed, were very ancient points of faith in Egypt, as also that death is but a reproduction into life, which was gracefully shown by the figure of an infant standing at the extremity of an Egyptian tomb beyond the sarcophagus. The same idea is to be traced in that part of the Hindoo creed which makes Siva 'the destroyer' the same deity with Mahadeva 'the god of generation.'

2. The doctrine of the metempsychosis was borrowed from Egypt by Pythagoras. The Greeks called it the 'circle

of necessity'; and besides the passage of the soul through various animals, some imagined that all events, after a certain period, recurred in the same form and order. The transmigration of the soul was held in India, as also by the Chinese Buddhists, by the Pharisees and by the Druids, though these last confined its wanderings to human bodies. Plato in the '*Phædrus*' assigns a purgatorial term of 10,000 years to the disembodied souls, unless they "have philosophized sincerely." This is not the Egyptian idea, which was that the souls of good men were at once admitted to fellowship with Osiris, without distinction. The belief in transmigration was employed, if it did not partly so originate, to support the religious protection of animals in Egypt and India; a point which, with the doctrine, is wittily illustrated in the scene between the Clown and Malvolio in *Shakespeare's Twelfth Night*, Act 4, Scene 11,—

"*Clo.* What is the opinion of Pythagoras respecting wild-fowl?

Mal. That the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird.

Clo. What thinkest thou of his opinion?

Mal. I think nobly of the soul, and no way approve his opinion.

Clo. Fare thee well! remain thou still in darkness: thou shalt hold the opinion of Pythagoras, ere I will allow of thy wit, and fear to kill a woodcock lest thou dispossess the soul of thy grandam.—Fare thee well!"

3. The Greek writers were indebted for more than this to Egypt. Through that land all the half-comprehended wisdom of the 'days of old' reached them. Plato in his '*Timæus*' makes the Egyptian priest charge Solon with this debt, saying, "Oh Solon! thy Greeks are little children—there is not among them one old man, not one!"—(*Timæus*, part 3, vol. ii. p. 12, *Bekker*.)

Ch. 124.—1. Choops is supposed to be derived from the Egyptian '*shufu*,' which signifies long-haired.

2. The stones were taken to the Libyan hills, because the west side of the Nile was the side of Amon!—"the region of the west or Hades," the place of tombs.

3. The word 'pyramid' is Greek—"pyramous" being the name of a cake made in that shape from wheat and honey. The derivation of the word 'pyros,' wheat, is perhaps from 'pur,' fire (in allusion to the colour of the grain), which admits the supposition that the word 'pyramid' may take its meaning from the shape of an ascending flame.

4. The pyramids were built in successive stages, the triangular spaces being afterwards filled in to complete the face. The Egyptians may have derived the idea of this mode of building from the ascending Assyrian towers, and the Indian pagodas of those countries from which they emigrated into the valley of the Nile.



Ch. 127.—1. The difference in height between this pyramid and that called 'The Great' is not 40 feet, but only 24ft. 6in.

2. Herodotus makes no mention of the sphinx, which was made as early as the eighteenth dynasty, and bears the name of Thothmes IV. The Egyptians called it 'Hor-m-Kho,' or the 'Sun in his resting-place,' which the Greeks converted into 'Armaehis.'

Ch. 128.—It must not be concluded that 'the shepherds' were the founders of the pyramids; those monuments existed long before their rule.

Ch. 129.—Mycerinus is Men-ka-ra in the hieroglyphics.

Ch. 132.—It was a common practice to overlay the faces of mummies with a gold leaf of considerable thickness.

The touching request which is recorded in the close of this chapter has formed the subject of a poem which I shall allow myself to quote here, as it is somewhat illustrative:—

"There was fear and desolation over Egypt's swarthy land,
From the holy City of the Sun to hot Syene's sand;
The sistrum and the cymbal slept, the dancing-girls no more
Wove their blue crowns of lotus-buds by Nile's embroider'd shore:
For the daughter of the king must die, the dark-stol'd sages said,
When on the hills of Lybia Phra's golden foot should tread.

And all that day the temple smoke loaded the heavy air,
With cries to cruel Hapi, who spareth not, to spare;
That day the gonfalons were down, the silver lamps untrimm'd,
Sad at their oars the rowers sat, silent the Nile-boat skimm'd;
And through the land there went a sigh of loyal and loving pain,
From the iron hills of Nubia to the Islands of the main.

There, in the very halls where once her laugh had loudest been,
Where but last feast-day she had worn the wreath as Amun's Queen,

She lay, a lost but lovely thing: the wreath was on her brow—
Alas! the lotus might not match its chilly pallor now;
And ever as that golden light sank lower in the sky,
Her breath came fainter, and the lid drooped deeper on her eye.

Her coal-black hair was tangled, and the sigh of parting day,
 Stir'd tremblingly its waves, that o'er the silken pillows lay ;
 Heavy and white her rounded arm lay buried in its folds—
 Fitfully move those fingers which the Lord of Egypt holds :
 But a smile, like water rippled by a tender summer air,
 Told that Ament's open porch had shown her naught to fear.

Low o'er the dying maiden's form the King and Father bows—
 Stern anguish holds the place of pride upon the Monarch's brows :
 ' My daughter,—in the world thou leav'st so dark without thy smile,
 ' Hast thou a care a father's love, a king's word may beguile ?
 ' Hast thou one last light wish—'tis thine—by Isis' throne on high !
 ' If Egypt's blood can win it thee, or Egypt's treasure buy ?'

How anxiously he waits her words : upon the painted wall,
 In long gold lines the dying lights between the columns fall.
 It lends her sinking limbs a glow, her pallid cheek a blush,
 And on her lifted lashes throws a fitful life-like flush,
 And on her parting lips it plays :—See ! how they crowd to hear,
 The words that will be iron chains to bind them to her prayer !

' Father—royal father—it is hard to die so very soon !—
 ' Summer was coming, and I thought to see the fair flood-moon :
 ' Must it be always dark like this ?—I cannot find thy face !—
 ' I am dying !—Hold me, father, in thy kind and strong embrace !—
 ' Oh ! let them sometimes bear me where the merry sunbeams lie :
 ' I know thou wilt !—Farewell, farewell !—'tis easier now to die !'

Small need of solemn leeches there ;—not all Arabia's store
 Of precious balm could purchase her one ray of sunlight more :
 Was it strange that tears were glistening where tears should never
 be—

When Hapi's hand had led away a spirit pure, as she ?
 Was it strange that warriors should raise a woman's earnest cry
 Of angry plaint to Athor, who could see her darling die ?

So over, when the shining sun has brought the summer round,
 And the Nile comes fast and bountiful along the thirsty ground,
 They bear her from her temple-home to where Phra's morning
 light

May linger on the gilded chest that hides a thing so bright,
 And strew sweet flowers upon the bier, while song and timbrels
 tell

Of the high Egyptian Maiden-Queen who loved the light so well !"

[From Arnold's '*Poems: Narrative and Lyrical.*'

Ch. 134.—Rhodops, like many other foreign women of that age
 in Egypt, followed the occupation of an 'almeh' or nautch-
 girl. Allan transfers her to the time of Psammitichus, and
 tells a charming story of an eagle dropping her slipper into

the king's lap, who institutes a search for its owner, and marries her. From this story comes the English '*Cinderella*,' and the legend of the shoe—

"When King Cophotua loved the beggar-maid."

Æsop's death was in this way. He had been sent by Croesus with gifts to Delphi; but in consequence of a quarrel with the Delphians, he did not present them, but sent them all back to Sardis. Hereupon the Delphians got up a charge of sacrilege against him, and killed him, by throwing him from a rock.

Ch. 136.—1. This monarch Asychis is identified with the 'Shis-lak' of the twenty-second dynasty.

2. It is notable how stringent were the precautions taken against 'bad faith' in all oriental codes. By pledging 'his father's body,' the debtor perilled his right of burial—a frightful risk to an orthodox Egyptian. No agreement was binding in Egypt without a written contract; and one, for the sale of property worth 400 pieces of brass, has been discovered (at Thebes), to which the names of sixteen attesting witnesses are added. In the Jewish decalogue, there is a special commandment against 'false witness.'

Ch. 137.—King Sabaeds of Egypt, under the name of So, was the cotemporary of Hosen, king of Israel, who made a treaty with him.

Ch. 138.—The accuracy of this description may be tested at the present day, as very complete ruins of the temple exist at Tel Basta. It was built entirely of red granite, and the capitals of its columns were carved to represent the buds of water-plants.

Ch. 140.—This 'undiscovered island' appears to have stood at the south-eastern corner of the lake Bâto.

Ch. 141.—1. The miraculous discomfiture of Sennacherib is also mentioned in the Jewish history, but with many other and opposite details.

2. The statue of Sêthos, with the mouse, had a more mysterious meaning, probably, than the commemoration of this service done by it. The god Apollo derived his name '*Smintheus*' from '*sminthos*'—'a mouse,' and there was a statue of him at Chryse, with that animal under his foot. That golden mice restored the Philistines (compare Samuel i. 6, 4), and that the favourite of *Ganes* is his mouse, are hints sufficient to prove the wide adoption of that animal as a sacred emblem.

- Ch. 142.—The alleged violation of natural order here is thus explained:—"The solar risings of stars fell on those days of 'the vague year' on which the settings fell in the days of Sethos." Herodotus took 'heliacal risings' to mean 'the risings of the sun.'
- Ch. 143.—Hecataeus, the great antecessor of Herodotus, is here for the first time mentioned by name. His date was B. C. 500; his principal works, '*The Circuit of the World*' and '*The Genealogies*.'
- Ch. 144.—Typhon was the abstract idea of 'evil,' as Osiris his brother was of 'good.' It is singular that the name should occur as 'Tyfoon' in Arabic, meaning 'whirlwind' (like the Greek '*tuphōs*'), while 'Fūṣūn' in the same language is the deluge,—the same word, 'ty-fong,' existing in Chinese. For the mythology of Osiris and Typhon compare note on ch. 171.
- Ch. 146.—Pliny says,—“Most agree in ascribing this city of Nysa to the Indian land, and declare that in the same region there stands a hill called 'Moros' (*Græcè* 'thigh'), sacred to Bacchus, whence the fable of his origin.”
- Ch. 148.—The position of this artificial lake has been identified by M. Lhuant with the modern 'Madanet-el-Fyoom.' Lepsius denies that the name 'Moris' has anything to do with it, beyond the fact that the Greeks coined this name from '*Phiom-en-mere*,' its old Egyptian title, meaning 'lake of the Nile-flood.' The Coptic word MHPH is 'inundation';—from the other, φῖομ, 'the lake,' comes the present name of the province—Faiyūm.
- Ch. 149.—1. Compare note on chapter 148.
2. Much fish is caught now at the mouths of the different canals. The village of Agaltch, in Thebes, pays 1,500 piastres annually for the fishing of its small canal.
- Ch. 151.—If Psammithes and the other kings wore brass helmets and armour, why should the 'men in brass' (chapter 152) be a novelty to the Egyptians?—The word translated 'brass' should perhaps be 'bronze'; objects worked in both metals are found in the monuments.
- Ch. 153.—Apis was supposed to be the image of the soul of Osiris: he is accordingly called Apis-Osiris. The god Nilus was called '*Hapi* of the waters,' and the genius of the dead bears the same title. He had twenty-nine marks, each referrible to some mystic legend.
- Ch. 154.—The Carians were proverbially famous for serving as mercenaries, like the Swiss in modern times. In the *Iliad*,

bk. 9, line 378, Achilles is contemptuously rejecting the offers of Agamemnon, and says,—

"Toll him I hate his gifts, and hold him a Carian out-throat."

Ch. 155.—1. Latona is best represented among the Egyptian deities by 'Maut'—'the mother of all.' Maut is a character of 'Bâta,' i. e. 'primeval darkness,' from which sprang light; as Apollo is the son of Latona (compare *lathe*—*latco*).

2. Egyptian architecture shows no period of infancy. The earlier works are in every respect equal to the later; which supports the theory of the introduction of this art by an immigrating people. As an instance of their imitation, the pointed arch may be mentioned, which is found not built, but cut in the stone, after some fashion previously seen.

Ch. 157.—Azotus is the Ashdod of Scripture. That it was naturally a strong place, is seen by the name, which, like the Arabic 'shedeed,' signifies 'strong.'

Ch. 158.—1. The Historian attributes the Red Sea canal to Necos, Strabo to Psammithichus, and Aristotle and Pliny to Sesostris. At a time when the commencement of it is again mooted, it is well to observe that the probable agreement of these statements is found in the fact that the work is one which requires constant re-excavation, from the impossibility of excluding the sand. The old Red Sea canal started from the Pelusiac branch, above Bubastis, received water from the Nile near old Cairo, and entered the Red Sea near Suez.

2. Patumus was called Pithom from 'thmel'—'truth and justice,' whence the Greek 'Themis' and the Hebrew 'thumim,' which is a dual form, as retaining the idea of the double capacity of the Egyptian goddess.

3. The shortest road to the Red Sea from the Mediterranean is 38 koss; that by Mount Casius measures 45.

4. 'Barbarian' is from 'ber,' which, reduplicated into 'Berber,' was a name given by the Egyptians to some African people, and is now retained by the Nubians. From them it may have passed, as a word for foreigners, to the Greeks. Compare the Sanscrit वरः 'another,' 'a stranger.'

Ch. 159.—1. Magdolis is the Valley of Megiddo, in Palestine, not Migdol, in Egypt.

2. Cadytis has been thought to stand for 'kadusha'—'the holy,' and to signify Jerusalem, which is at present called 'El-kods'; but there is more reason to suppose that Gaza, which was called 'Khazita,' is intended.

- Ch. 100.—The real impartiality of the Eleans is shown by a list of Olympian victors which has come down to us. It contains the name of an Elean citizen only eight times in 240 Olympiads, or 960 years, and of these eight three occur in the first five games, when they were probably not much known beyond Elis and its neighbourhood.
- Ch. 101.—Apries is the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture. Jeremiah xliv. 30.
- Ch. 103.—These Egyptian *castes* are rather *classes*; for the sculptures show priests, soldiers, and civilians among the members of one family.
- Ch. 100.—Tanis is the Zoan of Scripture,—the scene of the miracles of Moses (*vide* Psalm lxxviii.).
- Ch. 107.—1. Nothing can be more natural than the dignity which trade and commerce asserted and obtained at Corinth, the great emporium of Greece.
2. The arura was a square of 100 cubits, the Egyptian cubit was 20½ inches, the ordinary Greek cubit 18½.
- Ch. 170.—1. The 'inominato' of this chapter is 'Osiris,' in honour of whom many ceremonies were performed at Sais.
2. 'This lake still remains at Sais, as also the Delian lake, to which it is compared.'
- Ch. 171.—1. This myth of a dying god is very old. It was common to the Egyptians and Syrians, but derided by the Greeks, whose nearest approach to it may perhaps be found in the fables of Proserpine and Prometheus. Callimachus (from whom St. Paul quotes, Titus i. 12) calls the Cretans "liars" for their adhesion to a tenet so absurd:—
"The Cretans are always liars—they show thy tomb, oh Divinest!
Thine, who didst never die—who reignest for ever unchanging."
2. The sufferings and death of Osiris was the crowning point and mystery of the Egyptian religion; and so closely resembled those of later ages, that the fathers of our own church referred the wisdom or foreknowledge of the Egyptians on those matters to divine revelation (*vide* Appendix A to 'Mills on the Belief of Plato and Aristotle in a Future State'—and 'Eusebius' *Præp. Evangelicæ*, lib. x.). Osiris was the offspring of the divinity, or the divine goodness. He is manifested on earth, as the abstract idea of good becomes human; he dies a violent death; he rises again; and is made judge of the dead in a future state. Not less notable

in connection with this is the belief of the Egyptians, quoted in *Plutarch's Life of Numa*, that a woman might conceive by the approach of a divine spirit.

Osiris signified 'good,' as Typhon (or Seth) 'evil.' Osiris and Typhon are represented as brothers in the early sculptures, till the idea of 'evil' is confounded with that of 'sin.' Sin is Apophis, 'the great serpent,' reminding one, by its union with Typhon or Seth, of 'Sathanas' or 'Satan.' The original view which made evil and good brother-emanations of the deity, recalls the verse of Isaiah, xlv. 7,—“I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do these things.” In the same way the Indian mythology admits the creator and destroyer as characters of the divine being. Sin, the giant serpent Apophis, is pierced by Horus, who 'bruises its head' as the Python is conquered by Apollo, and the serpent, the श्रेय, by Vishnu.

With regard to the judgment of the dead by Osiris, it should be stated that he rather pronounced sentence than decided as a judge. The Egyptians made 'Thoth,' i. e. the divine part of each one's nature—the 'conscientious intellect,' the accuser and judge of each man in Amenti; as—

“..... hinc ultio quod se
Justice, nemo nocens absolvitur.....”

[*Juvenal*, 13, 2.

“No rogue pleads innocent, himself the judge.”

Horus, who was left on earth to complete the conquests of his father, Osiris, was he who ushered the happy spirits into the divine presence.

3. The fables of antiquity had at least three meanings; historical, physical, and religious. Thus the less instructed saw, in the death and resurrection of Osiris, the rise and decline of the Nile; and in the legend which described his head as carried out to sea by Typhon's anger for seven days, they understood the currents to be meant which carry the Nile-floods seven days' journey towards the Syrian coast. The portion of the mysteries imparted to strangers, as to Herodotus, was doubtless larger than this, but yet incomplete; while their actual and esoteric translation was known to the priests alone, and to some only of them.

Yama in the Vedas bears a strong resemblance to Osiris as the ruler of the dead, which is rendered striking by his having lived on earth with his sister and wife Yami, just as Osiris with Isis; and they, like Adam and Eve, were the parents of the human race.

Ch. 173.—Market-time or forenoon was the third hour of the day, i. e. about 9 o'clock A. M.

Ch. 175.—An Androsphinx has the head of a man with the body of a lion, as the symbol of intellectual combined with physical strength. It is remarkable that in Indian mythology a sphinx represents the fourth avatar of Vishnu, which is called in Thibet 'Naro-Singhas' (नर-सिंह), where 'singhas' is like the Greek 'sphinxas.'

Ch. 176.—The reign of Amasis, described as the most prosperous epoch of Egypt, is that wherein Egypt was prophesied to be the 'base of nations' (Ezekiel xxix. 18). This difficulty is partly solved by considering the prosperity referred to to be internal only.

Ch. 180.—1. The temple of Delphi was burned B. C. 548, i. e. in the twenty-first year of King Amasis.

2. Alum is still obtained from a place called 'Shob' (which signifies 'alum'), to the south of the Great Oasis, on the caravan road from Darfur.

Ch. 182.—1. This 'likeness' was very probably a painting on wood, like the 'pinakes' of the Greeks and the 'diptychs' of the pre-Raphaelite artists. Such pictures were painted in Egypt as early as B. C. 2000.

2. These linen corslets were of very remarkable construction. In another part of his history, Herodotus mentions one, also presented by Amasis, which had numerous figures of animals in gold and cotton (which he calls 'tree-wool'), and every thread of which was composed of 300 other threads, exquisitely fine.

3. The flight of Danaus from Egypt accords with the transmission from that country to Greece of eastern civilisation and religious rites, and the relationship between Egypt, Danaus, and Belus connects the three countries of Egypt, Greece, and Phœnicia.

4. Cyprus seems first to have been occupied by the Chittim, who founded its capital, Citium. It is supposed to have derived its name from the abundance of the herb 'ciperus' (*Larsonia alba*, called in the Hebrew קִיפֹר *kōper*), which is found there.